

INTRODUCTION: THE MEXICAN FOLK

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The terms "folk lore," "folk song," and even "folk ways" have a meaning in considering Mexico which they lack in connection with a country such as ours. The ways of the folk, largely unwritten and unremarked, constitute the real Mexico. "In few countries," says Gruening, "is political history less significant than in Mexico, yet its historiographies are preeminently political."¹ The formal institution, the explicit statement of program or policy, the bulk of contemporary documents, lie remote from the ways of the masses and record their history almost not at all. The world of the cultivated classes, who alone are articulate and who alone communicate freely with us, is a world apart from that of the folk. To learn and to set down the ways of the folk, one must encounter them directly and intimately; they are not otherwise to be found. Ethnology is the form which any careful study of contemporary history tends to take in Mexico.

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What is the "folk"? If its meaning be reached backward from the terms which begin this page, it is a group which has folk lore and folk songs. For such material the collector goes to the primitive tribes or to the simpler peasant peoples enclaved within the

¹ Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, page x.

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12/ borders of civilized nations. These are "folk" peoples. What characteristics distinguish them? Such peoples enjoy a common stock of tradition; they are the carriers of a culture. This culture preserves its continuity from generation to generation without depending upon the printed page. Moreover, such a culture is local; the folk has a habitat. Wandering folk, as, for example, the gypsy, do occur, but then special factors of social isolation cause them to preserve their folk character among a people who are not folk. Within the folk group there is relatively small diversity of intellectual interest; attitudes and interests are much the same from individual to individual, although, presumably, there is the same range of inherent temperament as in any other group of the same size. And finally, the folk peoples are country peoples. If folk lore is encountered in the cities it is never in a robust condition, but always diminishing, always a vestige.

There are plenty of such folk peoples in Mexico. Some, like the Lacandones and (until perhaps recently) the Tarahumares, are as truly primitive, as truly preliterate, as a Melanesian tribe. More, however, have long since reached an adjustment with Western civilization, as represented by the upper and governing classes; and now the complex of their culture is interwoven with the modern social and economic order. They use money, wear commercial textiles, perhaps know how to read and write, and employ at least the terminology and some of the ritual forms of Catholic Christianity. They are much like isolated, illiterate

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peasant peoples everywhere. The former class of peoples have been regarded as the subject of ethnology (*Völkerkunde*); the second of what has conventionally been distinguished as "folk lore" (*Volkskunde*). Both sorts of groups are folk peoples.

But the series of culture types to be found in Mexico does not end with these simple societies. Mexico is in no small part modern; every year it becomes more so. In the more sophisticated villages of the north, in the middle classes in the cities everywhere, are to be found a people much like the masses in our own country. They not only can read, but they do read. The folk hear rumor; these people read news. Through the newspaper and its closely related organs of information and popular interest, the popular magazine and the moving picture, these latter people come to share in interests which are not local but are even international. Communication by way of oral tradition with the preceding generations has with such people come to play a smaller part in determining the patterns of their thinking; they are communicating with contemporaries like themselves in other cities and in other lands; and through printing and pictures they draw upon the accumulated experience of groups geographically and historically remote. They are ceasing, or have already ceased, to be a folk people.

Apparently there are people in Mexico who are folk peoples, with folk lore and folk songs and folk ways which are often indigenous and local to the particular community, but there are also people, largely in the

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- 121 towns, who are no more a folk people than are the citizens of Grand Rapids or Bridgeport. And apparently the "modernization" of Mexico is the gain of this second kind of people at the expense of the first. Yet in spite of this change, the bulk of the Mexican population are folk. With us it is the other way. The southern negro is our one principal folk. He has a local tradition orally transmitted; he makes folk songs. Except for him we have to search for folk peoples in the United States. In the mountains of the South and Southeast we have a sort of vestigial folk. And here and there, in such occupations as involve long periods of isolation and a relative independence of the printed page—as, for example, among lumbermen or cowboys—a sort of quasi-folk develop, who write anonymous folk songs and sometimes build up, around campfires, folk sagas of the Paul Bunyan variety.

II

How are we to define the difference between the Mexican masses and our own? What are some of the characteristics of the folk that set them off from "the common people" who are not folk? It may be suggested that the difference is made clear in the distinction between folk song and popular song, folk tale and popular literature. It is, at the extremes, the difference between the animal tales or witch stories of tribal Indian or simple peasant, and the American magazines of the "true confessions" type. Or it is the difference between the traditional chant to accom-

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pany Indian or African ritual, or the equally traditional folk song of Mexican *peón* or Roumanian peasant, and "Singin' in the Rain" or "You've Never Been Blue." 121

It perhaps needs to be pointed out that these two sorts of songs, two sorts of literatures, are alike at all. But alike they certainly are. They belong together when contrasted with the sophisticated art and literature of the more self-conscious intelligentsia. They are quite different, and different in the same way, from Proust or Stravinsky. They are both, folk song and popular song, written because they will be sung; they are both, folk tale and popular story, composed because they will be heard or read. The sophisticated art is formed in conformity with self-conscious canons of taste. It is composed not to be read by everybody, but to be appreciated by the few. It is written not in the widespread and easy images of the folk, but in more deliberately constructed forms. It has a horror, for example, of *clichés*.

This is the difference which Sumner¹ speaks of when

¹ "It is a question of the first importance for the historian whether the mores of the historical classes of which he finds evidence in documentary remains penetrated the masses or not. The masses are the real bearers of the mores of the society. They carry tradition. The folkways are their ways. They accept influence or leadership and they imitate, but they do so as they see fit, being controlled by their notions and tastes previously acquired. They may accept standards of character and action from the classes, or from foreigners, or from literature, or from a new religion, but whatever they take up they assimilate and make it a part of their own mores, which they then transmit by tradition, defend in its integrity, and refuse to discard again. Consequently the writings of the literary class may not represent the faiths, notions, tastes, standards, etc., of the masses at all. The literature of the first Christian centuries shows us scarcely anything of the mores of the time, as they existed in the faith and practice of the masses.

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121 he distinguishes the "masses" from the "classes." The "classes" are the minority of sophisticated people who at least in literate society tend to occupy a mental world apart from that of the masses. The "masses," on the other hand, include both "folk" peoples and the common people of civilized and completely literate countries. For this second kind of "masses" there appears to be no name available,¹ and inventing new terms is of doubtful wisdom. Completing the proportion: "folk" is to "folk song" as "popular song" is to x—one might suggest *populus*, or better, *demos*.

The differences between folk song and popular song, or folk tale and popular literature, afford an approach to the difference between "folk" and *demos*. The popular song is obviously more sophisticated. It is written deliberately, for sale. The folk song is more "artless." The popular song has an author; the folk song easily loses its composer. The question of communal composition does not arise in the realm of popular literature as distinguished from folk literature. The popular song or story is written in order that it may

Every group takes out of a new religion which is offered to it just what it can assimilate with its own traditional mores. Christianity was a very different thing amongst Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, Germans and Slavs. It would be a great mistake to suppose that any people ever accepted and held philosophical or religious teaching as it was offered to them, and as we find it recorded in the books of the teachers. The mores of the masses admit of no such sudden and massive modification by doctrinal teaching. The process of assimilation is slow, and is attended by modifying influences at every stage" (*Folkways*, p. 46).

Sumner did not distinguish between the folk, a country people among whom culture is built up, and the urban proletariat, among whom it tends to break down.

¹ "Proletariat" appears to be a related term.

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be sold; the composer earns a living out of it, or hopes to. And finally, there is the obvious and important difference between a composition that depends upon writing and one that needs only singing or speaking and hearing. And from this difference flow a number of significant correlaries. The folk song is much more local; it is commonly expressed in local terms; it has local allusions. The popular song refers to a much wider community of experience. The popular song, being written, is standardized; of it one does not collect "versions." Popular songs that develop versions are passing into folk songs. But the *Saturday Evening Post* appears in almost three million identical versions every Thursday. And the popular song, the popular story, exist in the world of fashion and fad. Among the folk, where communication is much slower, there is much less fashion; at least, in folk literature, there are probably no "rages." The "rage" is a trait of the *demos*.

If we turn to the songs and to the literature which are current in Mexico, we find examples of all three sorts: sophisticated, popular, and folk. That type of song and story which has widest currency, however, is in many respects transitional between folk literature and popular literature, folk song and popular song. The more primitive village peoples still sing the ancient traditional songs and tell the old traditional tales. The peoples of the towns and cities, at least the middle and upper classes there, sing sentimental songs, which are locally Mexican, and even the jazz ditties of

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ephemeral favor in New York or London. But in between lies a great mass of transitional literature, a sort of "folk-popular" literature, which expresses the fact that in Mexico we have a collection of folk peoples who are becoming *demos*.

This intermediate literature is best known from its outstanding form, the ballad known as *corrido*.¹ The *corrido* is in first instance orally transmitted. The composer, a singer of local prestige, communicates it to the circle of listeners; it tends immediately to become anonymous. But it is not wholly independent of writing. In the rural districts it may be set down in private copy-books, and in the cities it sometimes circulates on cheap printed leaflets—just as did the "broad-side ballad" of Elizabethan England.

¹"The commonest form of musical expression is the *corrido*, literally, 'current happening.' Any event that touches the people immediately finds its way into this form of ballad. Its words are printed on a gaudy sheet of paper, usually green or pink, embellished often by a lurid wood cut. The verse is doggerel and the music a 'catchy' refrain. But the *corridos* are a valuable index to popular thought. During the Revolution Zapata outranked all other figures in the variety and number of *corridos* about him. Villa, pictured as 'muy hombre,' the hero of gigantic exploits, came next. Carranza did not figure in *corridos*—he made no appeal to popular imagination. 'The arm of Obregon'—the arm lost on the field of battle—did. Heroic, tragic, gruesome, pathetic themes prevail. Deeds of valor, floods, earthquakes, famines, calamities generally, which affect the people, are instantly sung. The writer usually begins by announcing the subject of his verse—as if addressing an audience, and in concluding often takes leave of it. He is a modern troubadour—but instead of offering his vocal wares to the mighty, as of old, the people are his patrons, for the *corridos* are sold for a centavo or two in the markets.

"An essential quality of the *corridos* is their ingenuousness: The writer is wholly frank. He tells not only of his hero's prowess, but of his weaknesses—his drunkenness, his offenses against law and order, his fickleness to his sweethearts, as well as their faithlessness. And just as he views the hero of his theme without illusion he applies similar measurements to the great and near-great of his country—the generals and politicians" (Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 647-48).

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The subject matter of this popular literature is always what interests the Mexican masses: war, crime, catastrophe, and especially popular heroes and popular scapegoats. And in its constantly shifting content, as the old *corridos* die and the new *corridos* are composed, it constitutes a sort of collective diary of the Mexican masses. At its lower margin, in the more traditional songs that persist in local communities for generations, this literature merges with the typical folk literature of primitive peoples. Its upper margin, the news ballad of crime or passion, passes into the lower margin of our own popular literature—the doggerel verses about Floyd Collins or the Hall-Mills case now circulated on mail-order phonograph records.

The essential difference between the *corrido* and the folk song of a truly primitive people appears to lie in the tendency of the *corrido* to enter into the realm of news, public opinion, and even propaganda. The *corrido* is a news organ. It informs what comes to be a public of the events which concern it, and especially of the excitements which nourish its interest. It tends, one would venture, to become a mechanism for conflicting local attitudes. A man sung as a bandit in one community may be sung as a redeemer in another; the circulation of these songs tends to define his position in more generally accepted terms. In this relation of the *corrido* to a discussion which is more impersonal than the intimate interchange of ideas in a completely self-sufficient folk community, the *corrido* is related to that rise of nationalistic feeling which begins to give

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M to the changes which are going on in Mexico a special,
● 121 and at the same time a characteristic, form.
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III

T The change which is obviously going on in Mexico
M can be described, it may be, in terms more fundamen-
121 tal than "the spread of education" or "economic de-
178 velopment," although these are of course important
aspects of that change. To the social anthropologist
the change is that which is represented by the gain of
popular literature at the expense of folk literature. It
is a change in type of culture. It may furthermore be
provisionally assumed that this change has elements
in common with others which are taking place in
countries similarly placed with respect to the widening
influence of modern Western industrial civilization.
Mexico is but one of the peoples on that frontier of
contact. Modern industrial civilization appears, off-
hand, to reach these marginal peoples as a sort of com-
plex; those peoples that survive tend to react, it
would seem, in ways different yet often comparable.
Perhaps tractors, newspapers, linguistic revivals, tech-
nical manuals of craftsmanship, and a strong emotion-
al attitude toward foreigners, compounded at once of
admiration and contempt, represent recurrent ele-
ments in a describable process.

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121 There is a growing disposition on the part of cul-
tural anthropologists to study social processes as such,
rather than to rest content with the mere description of
cultures or the solution of specific historical sequences.

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In large part ethnologists remain geographers and historians; they describe what is or was in that particular place, and tell how it got there. With many the scientific interest comes to rest in history, in the unraveling of another thread in the web of the past. Archaeologists and ethnologists together, by many detailed researches into the preliterate periods, have helped to make possible the "new history" of today. /2/ ●

Nevertheless the return to an interest in processual generalizations in the field of social anthropology, and the re-employment of what is essentially the comparative method, has in recent years been clearly marked. Anthropologists once more seek generalizations upon social change. With some, as with Wissler,¹ inquiries into the diffusion process have been made, not in order to sharpen tools for historical research, but in order to achieve control of contemporary and future change. Kroeber's more ultimate aim is at least in part that cultural anthropology shall cultivate "pure science,"² and the interest in culture process as distinct from culture history³ is unequivocal in Malinowski.⁴

¹ *Man and Culture*, especially the chapter on "The Rationalization of the Culture Process"; also *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*.

² Address delivered before the Social Science Research Council, at Hanover, N.H., August 25, 1927, under the title "Study of Cultural Phenomena" (unpublished).

³ The logic of this distinction is presented in A. L. Kroeber's "The Possibility of a Social Psychology." Radcliffe-Brown (art., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology") makes the distinction quite clear, suggests a number of significant implications, and proposes the term "ethnology" for the historical discipline and "social anthropology" for the interest in arriving at natural laws of social change.

⁴ "Whatever might be the value of an interest in origins of culture, it is obvious that unless these data bear in one way or another upon modern conditions,

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- 12/ If the interest of the student lies in an investigation of social processes in general terms, it would seem a more direct procedure to study such processes as they actually occur, rather than to content one's self with comparing the historical sequences so laboriously determined by historical methods of the ethnologist, who works without the direct sources of written records. In sequences of the latter sort only a small part of all the facts can ever be recaptured. If one is interested in studying what happens rather than what happened, one moves more directly if one studies it as it happens. Now that the power and personnel of anthropology has grown, it can undertake such investigations and still continue its work of preserving the record of the dying cultures.

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12/ That it is still possible to study the more isolated groups of Mexico in order to learn something about the pre-Columbian cultures, and about the changes

the purely antiquarian anthropology cannot be of great utility, and so far very little effort has been devoted to make evolutionary anthropology bear upon the actual problems of modern life.

"Again, the diffusionist writings, the reconstructions of past history of the various primitive races, is of no obvious or direct importance in modern questions. Whether mother-right has moved on the American continent from southeast to northwest, or whether moccasins were first discovered among the Algonquins of the northeast and gradually moved towards Mexico, this important historical fact has a theoretical significance perhaps, but it cannot very well be used by the social student in discussing prohibition, the negro problem, the question of divorce, of sexual morality, and so on.

"The recognition that social process is submitted to definite rules exactly as natural process is subject to the laws of physics, chemistry and biology, finds a very tenacious opposition in the science of society" (address under the title "Anthropology as a Social Science" before the Social Science Research Council at Hanover, N.H., August 10, 1926 [unpublished]).

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which they underwent when they came in contact with the Spaniards, is not to be denied. Such a study would be a study of a dead culture and of a past change. It is merely to be pointed out that such was not the interest which took the writer to Mexico. To learn as much as can be learned as to the history of the present culture of Tepoztlán is a part of any thorough study of that culture. But the interest in the following pages lies more particularly with the current changes. The task was not conceived to be the rescue of survivals from aboriginal culture. There was no attempt to collect, for example, folk songs persisting in the memory of any individual which might most closely preserve pre-Columbian characteristics, but rather to study those songs which are today vivid and meaningful in the lives of the contemporary folk. That these songs are almost entirely European in character is interesting, but in no way limits their importance. 114
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The Mexican folk are not necessarily Indian. The folk culture is a fusion of Indian and Spanish elements. The acculturation which gave rise to this mixed culture took place three hundred years ago, largely within the first few generations after the Conquest. The analysis of the Mexican folk culture into Spanish and Indian elements is one problem—a historical problem. The description of changes occurring in that folk culture due to spread of city ways is another problem—a study of a contemporary change.

The disorganization and perhaps the reorganization

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114 of the culture here considered under the slowly grow-
121 ing influence of the city is a process—a diffusion proc-
ess—which can and will be studied. It is, the writer
assumes, an example, within convenient limits, of the
general type of change whereby primitive man be-
comes civilized man, the rustic becomes the urbanite.

CHAPTER VII

THE RITUAL OF LIFE AND DEATH

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The course of the individual life has its times of tension too, and the fact that these moments—periods of pause, of fear, of transition—are nearly always the occasions of special ceremony has frequently been noted. Although it has not been attempted in the present sketch, such crisis rites would seem to present another opportunity to study the process of transition from folk to urban culture. In the simpler societies the rites of passage are an inseparable mixture of practical, magical, and religious elements. The disposition to do something which accompanies the crisis results in behavior which is in part practical and in part merely expressive. When not checked and modified by the pressure of practical needs or by the development of habits of rational thinking, the expressive elements continue along with the practical in one interwoven pattern of tradition. But in modern Western societies the expressive and the practical elements diverge into two quite different contexts. From the former the magical elements tend to fall away; what is done is more rationally comprehended and is year by year modified in accordance with the development of technique. The expressive elements are institutionalized and in part fall under the direction of the

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●121 church. The technique of the obstetrician is remote from the religious ritual of baptism; the practical problem of disposing of a dead body is attacked by a practical specialist, while the expression of the feelings of the bereaved is assisted by conventionalized ritual which is religious rather than magical.

177 Such, at least, is the suggestion coming from the
184 literature; it is made also by the materials from Tepoztlán. In this village the practices followed by one family or another on occasions of marriage, death, and most particularly birth, probably differ considerably; and these differences will, it seems clear, be found to depend largely on the degree of sophistication of the family considered. *Los tontos* preserve the old traditional practices; with them the magical and the practical are still an inseparable whole. An in-

[844]formant from this group describes the practice of putting tallow on the umbilical cord of a newborn child and that of burying the placenta underneath the fireplace with no feeling that these customs are of different sorts; because in her group they are no different. Both equally affect welfare; one might just as well be omitted as the other. The midwife is magician-

[846]priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food
[759]as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care. But among *los correctos* there is probably a tendency to relegate the non-practical usages to the rank of superstitions, and to omit them entirely. This tendency grows, and

[182]grows slowly; the society is not breaking down; it is merely changing, and the gradual process of change

CHAPTER IX

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

121 It is not merely convenient to discuss magic and
 755 medicine together; it is almost inevitable. In Tepoz-
 tlán, as among other simple peoples, the two fields
 very largely overlap. Medicine is to a great degree
 magical, and most current magical practices are also
 medical. Partly because the rational cure of disease
 depends on a great body of accumulated knowledge
 and experimentation, and perhaps partly because the
 mere expression of a wish to be cured is sometimes ef-
 fective, magical behavior persists longer in the field
 of medicine than in almost any other field of human
 concern. The separation of magic and medicine is, in
 a sense, a unique event; and even in modern Western
 society the separation is yet incomplete.

755 In Tepoztlán the only generally recognized and
 practiced body of magic has to do with medical cures.

[754] Black magic exists in the form of witchcraft; in the
 present study materials are largely lacking, but it is
 probably not uncommon. It is, however, surrepti-
 tious, and is entering, to the people themselves, into
 the limbo of superstition. White magic takes in gen-
 [751] eral the form of amulets and talismans,¹ conveying to
 the wearer the protective power of priest or *santo*. But
 in the case of the treatment of disease, there is a large

¹ See Gamio, *La población del valle de Tlaxiahuacán*, II, 220. Perhaps older folk
 amulets, not involving Catholic symbols, are also used in Tepoztlán.

CHAPTER X

LITERACY AND LITERATURE

212 The latest Mexican census, that of 1921, enumerated 782 adult males living in the *municipio* of Tepoztlán;^{*} of these, it was reported, 438 could read and write. Even when allowance is made for the readiness of the census-taker to report an individual as literate on the slightest evidence, it remains probable that about half of the adults of Tepoztlán can to some degree read and write Spanish. Spanish is the only language of the schools; therefore the proportion that can write Nahuatl is certainly much smaller.

- [191] Nevertheless, judged by the standard of the modern city, these people are illiterate. And because they are so judged, and because they tend so to judge themselves, they are an illiterate folk, not a preliterate primitive people. Their pre-Columbian ancestors were a preliterate people, for the writing of the Aztecs was no doubt an esoteric art, confined to the priestly class.
- 871 The first secular school was established in Tepoztlán in the middle of the nineteenth century, but at various periods during the three centuries that preceded that time there were schools of the church. Today two schools are maintained in Tepoztlán, one by the state of Morelos and the other by the federal government.

^{*} A total of 3,836 individuals.

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177 Only from the point of view of history or of romantic appreciation is Tepoztlán an "Aztec *pueblo*." The elaborate ritual and philosophic scheme which distinguished the pre-Columbian culture was carried by the priestly class; and these meanings were practically extirpated by the conquerors. The society was, one might say, decapitated. The ancient household techniques remain, but the ancient values are gone.

• [121] But if the interest is not in depiction, but in studying social change as it takes place—in social anthropology as contrasted with ethnology, in the terminology of Radcliffe-Brown¹—then Tepoztlán presents an excellent opportunity. This opportunity is for the study of the change whereby a folk community is slowly becoming more like the city. This change is a case of diffusion, occurring in an easily observed situation, so slowly as not to accomplish the disorganization of the community, and under practical circumstances which liberate the student from responsibility to record the fragmentary vestiges of a disappearing culture.

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[565] The frontier of this change is between *los correctos* and *los tontos*. This frontier is a geographical, not merely a figurative, frontier. The diffusion of city traits can be observed and expressed in spatial terms. The point from which changes originate is the central *plaza*. This is at first confusing to one accustomed to examples of the diffusion process taken from tribal

¹ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, art., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology."

preface

This study was begun as a joint project of the Inter-American Indian Institute of Mexico and the National Indian Institute of the United States. The project was originally conceived as a pilot study for a contemplated series of studies in various parts of Latin America, to provide government agencies working in rural areas with a better understanding of the psychology and needs of the people. John Collier, as head of the National Indian Institute, and Manuel Gamio, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute, were instrumental in organizing the project and seeing it through its first year. Financial assistance was provided by the Viking Fund. 121 ●

As field representative of the National Indian Institute, I was director of the project and had the assistance from time to time of personnel provided by various Mexican government agencies. Field work began in Tepostlán in December, 1943, and was carried on through June, 1944, when it was abruptly terminated because of lack of funds. In the summer of 1947 I returned to the village to continue field work for a period of three months, with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and Washington University. In the summer of 1948 I again returned to the village with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Illinois. 122

With Dr. Gamio's aid, and through the courtesy of Dr. Alfonso Caso and Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, of the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología, four anthropology students were assigned to this project for field work training. The students were Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Isabel Pozas, Anselmo Marino Flores, and Francisco Lima. The Departamento de Educación also generously assigned Esperanza Domínguez Reina as a student assistant. In addition we had the assistance of two social workers and two doctors from the Departamento de Salubridad y Asistencia, and two agronomists from the Departamento Agrario. 114

The Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas took an active interest in the project, and contributed personnel and aid in other ways, during all three field trips. In 1943 and 1944, when Asuntos Indígenas was under the direction of Isidro Candia, we enjoyed the field assistance of Dr. Emanuel Palacios, anthropologist. Later, through the courtesy of Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán and Julio de la Fuente, in their capacity as directors of Asuntos Indígenas, we received the services of Alberto Beltrán, artist. To Alberto Beltrán I am especially grateful for his fine drawings which illustrate this book, and for his enthusiastic cooperation and keen interest in anthropology. To him and to all those mentioned above I extend my thanks.

To Dr. Alejandro D. Marroquín, of El Salvador, I am deeply grateful for capable assistance during all three of my field trips. He has generously shared with me his broad knowledge of Latin America and has contributed much to this study. In addition to his over-all assistance he did a special study of village politics and government in 1944, and in 1947 he worked with me on an intensive family case study. At present, as my colleague at the University of Illinois, he has continued to assist me in the organization of portions of the field data.

I am indebted to Luis Chávez Orozco, outstanding Mexican historian, for 127

introduction

In 1926 Robert Redfield, a young American anthropologist, first studied the village of Tepoztlán and gave us his pioneer work, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village*.¹ This book has since become a standard reference and a classic in the field of community studies.² It is of particular importance in the history of community studies in that it contains Redfield's first statement on the nature of the folk society, and, at least implicitly, the concept of the folk-urban continuum, a hypothesis of societal change later made explicit in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.³ The folk-urban conceptualization of culture change now enjoys great prestige among sociologists and anthropologists, and has served as the theoretical frame of reference for many of the community studies done by Redfield's students.⁴

In the same year in which Redfield's first book appeared, Stuart Chase visited Tepoztlán for a short while and later described it in his book, *Mexico, a Study of Two Americas*.⁵ His account, based largely on Redfield's work, was, in effect, a popularized version of the folk-urban dichotomy. In it Tepoztlán was compared very favorably with Middletown, U.S.A.

Seventeen years after Redfield's study, I went to Tepoztlán to do a broad ethnographic and historical study of the social, economic, political, and religious life of the community, with special emphasis upon an analysis of the changes which had occurred in the village since 1926. This involved a restudy of the village as a comparison of our findings.⁶ Special attention, however, was given to those aspects of village life which Redfield had merely touched upon, such as demography, the land problem, systems of agriculture, the distribution of wealth, standards of living, politics and local government, the life cycle of the individual, and inter-personal relations. The bulk of the materials presented in this book is therefore new data.⁷

Upon my arrival in the village it seemed to be in many respects as Redfield had described it. In physical appearance it had changed but little. Once off the highway which runs to the plaza, there were the same unpaved streets and adobe houses, the barrio chapels, the people carrying water to their homes from the nearest fountain, the men wearing their ancient white *calzones* and *huaraches*, the bare-

¹ Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán—a Mexican Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

² It is interesting to note that at the time of publication Redfield viewed it as a preliminary investigation which he hoped to continue. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

³ Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

⁴ See, for example, Julio de la Fuente, *Yalalag, Una Villa Zapoteca Serrana* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Antropología, 1949); and Horace Miner, *St. Denis, a French Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

⁵ Stuart Chase, *Mexico—a Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931).

⁶ Originally it was planned to use Redfield's monograph as an ethnographic base for a personality study. It soon became apparent, however, that because of the many changes which had occurred since 1926, a restudy of the village was necessary. The importance of restudies in the social sciences and the implications of the differences in our findings are treated in Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 427.

⁷ It was not necessary for our purposes to restudy certain aspects of village life adequately covered by Redfield, such as the material culture, the fiesta system, the *corridos*, magic, and medicine.

foot women with braids and long skirts. But signs of change could also be seen. There were the new asphalt road, the buses, the tourist cars, the Coca-Cola and aspirin signs, the Sinarquist placards on a roadside wall, the queue of women and children waiting to have their corn ground at the mills, the new stores and poolrooms in the plaza, and a few women with bobbed hair and high-heeled shoes. Moreover, school enrollment had increased from the "few score" of Redfield's time, to over six hundred, and the village had obtained *ejidos* under the national *ejido* program. 178

What had really happened in these past seventeen years? How profound were these changes? How had native institutions been affected? What old problems had been resolved and what new problems had been created? To what extent had the villagers become incorporated into the main stream of national life? How did the increase in trade and the influx of wealth affect the cultural habits of the people, their standards of living, their aspirations, their thinking? In short, had the people and their way of life really changed? 121 178

These questions are of much more than local interest. The changes which had occurred in Tepoztlán were taking place over wide areas of Mexico and the world. It was hoped that an intensive study of a single village might enable us to get at some of the fundamental processes and principles of culture change, and at the same time be useful to administrators concerned with the task of carrying out welfare programs in the so-called backward areas of the world.

The conditions for such a study seemed especially propitious in Tepoztlán for a number of reasons. Most of the changes noted above had come after 1926. We could therefore use Redfield's study as a base line from which to measure and analyze these changes. We could also work with some of Redfield's informants and with others who had lived through this period. Here was an unusual opportunity for an anthropologist.

As the field work progressed, other problems arose. It became apparent that many of the changes which had taken place in the village, particularly in social organization and attitudes of the people, were part and parcel of a larger process of culture change which dated back at least before the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20. We therefore had to go back some time, preceding Redfield's visit, and study the effects of the Mexican Revolution upon the village.

But the historical focus could not be limited to the Revolution. It was desirable to study the history of the village from pre-Hispanic times if we were to appreciate the contemporary scene and to interpret the pattern of change. Indeed, one of the advantages of studying a peasant community like Tepoztlán, as compared with a truly isolated and non-literate society, is the possibility of getting historical perspective. For this purpose the following sources were used: archaeological findings, legends, unpublished archive materials on the village covering a period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; comparative data on pre-Hispanic Mexico and colonial Mexico from sixteenth-century chroniclers and other sources; the files of the national and state government agencies which had contacts with the village; and finally, the reconstruction of conditions before the Revolution of 1910-20 from the accounts of informants who had lived through that time. 121 127

121 The intensive historical study served a number of ends. It served to check the
179 validity of some generalizations made by historians and other scholars concerning various aspects of Mexican history. For example, there has been some disagreement among scholars about the size of the pre-Hispanic population and the rate of depopulation after the Conquest.⁸ As we shall see, the data on Tepoztlán throw some light on this subject. Similarly, there have been divergent interpretations of the Mexican Revolution. Here we have a village which was in the heart of it. What can an intensive study of a single village tell us about the results of the Revolution? How does it fit in with the general picture? How did the *ejido* program work out in this particular case, and what clarification does this offer on the larger agrarian problem? In this study I attempt to answer these and other questions. A sufficient number of similarly detailed local studies might provide new insights which could be used in the formulation of more accurate broad generalizations.⁹

12 The field techniques used in this study were those of the current anthropological repertory, and included participant-observers, interviews, autobiographies, case studies, and a battery of psychological tests including the Rorschach. A study of a relatively large and complex village like Tepoztlán, with a population of approximately 3,500,¹⁰ with differences in the size of barrios, the degree of wealth, and the attitude of the older and younger generation, and with a rapidly changing culture, presented formidable problems. Assistance was necessary; furthermore, the traditional anthropological reliance upon a few informants for obtaining a picture of the culture was obviously inadequate in this situation. Sampling and securing data and informants representative of all the significant differences in the village seemed just as important here as in a study of a modern urban community. We therefore employed quantitative procedures wherever possible, utilizing census data, local government records and documents, schedules, and questionnaires. Numerous village surveys were made with the assistance of local informants and a small staff of field workers.

123 Two aspects of the field study deserve special mention. Intensive case studies of representative families were carried on, by living with a family and applying to this family all of the techniques and conceptual categories traditionally used by the anthropologist in studying a larger social unit. Seven families were studied intensively in this manner, with the aid of student assistants. Much of the detailed information on inter-personal relations contained within this volume was obtained from these family studies.¹¹ Two of these studies will appear in a later publication.

⁸ Cf. the conservative estimate of Bailey W. Diffie, *Latin American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrsburg: Stackpole Sons, 1945), pp. 179-80; and Sherburne F. Cook and Lesley B. Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948).

⁹ Intensive historical studies of small areas are increasing. See, for example, Sherburne F. Cook, "The Historical Demography and Ecology of the Teotlalpan," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXIII (1949).

¹⁰ The population of some other Mexican communities for which we have anthropological studies are as follows: Chan Kom, 251 (1930); Tzintzuntzan, 1,231 (1945); Mitla, 2,500 (1936); and Chérán, 5,000 (1945).

¹¹ For a discussion of some of the possibilities of this kind of family study, see Oscar Lewis, "An Anthropological Approach to Family Studies," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LV, No. 5 (March, 1950).

125 the Goodenough Draw-a-Man, the Emotional Response Test, the Moral Judgment Test, an adapted form of Thematic Apperception, free drawings, and written themes. The Rorschach tests were given by Ruth Lewis; the Performance Scale, the drawing tests, and the written themes, by Angélica Castro de la Fuente; the Thematic Apperception, by Esperanza Domínguez Reina; and the others, by local assistants.¹⁹

121 The methodological orientation of this study combines the historical, the functional, and the configurational points of view. In the first instance we have studied Tepoztecan culture as a changing phenomenon, responding to different influences at various times in its complicated history. In the second, we have examined the institutions of the village as they function at the present time, and have shown the inter-relationships between the social, economic, and political aspects of life. In the third, we have sought to understand Tepoztecan culture as a whole, as an integrated way of life, as well as part of the larger Mexican scene.

Tepoztlán is discussed from two points of view: first, as an entity in itself, with its internal organization which includes the family, the barrio, the village-wide institutions like the church, the school, and the local government; and second, as part of the units larger than itself such as the municipio, the state, the nation, and the world. These internal and external aspects of village organization and village life are, of course, closely inter-related and together constitute a continuum of social and economic organization. In the case of Tepoztlán, its relationship with the Mexican nation is particularly important, as the context within which its history, economics, politics, and other aspects of life have developed. Mexico was therefore one of our basic configurations in this study.

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121 Broadly speaking, studies of Mexico by social scientists have been of two types: one, studies of the nation as a whole; and two, studies of single communities. The former have been done primarily by historians, geographers, economists, and sociologists;²⁰ the latter by anthropologists. The relationship between these two types of studies has tended to be one-sided. Whereas the writers of national studies, of necessity, have had to draw upon local studies, anthropologists for the most part have carried on their work with little effort to place it within a national or even a regional framework.²¹ Indeed, anthropological studies of communities in Mexico and, for that matter, in other parts of Latin America, have been characterized by what might be called an ideological localism whereby each little community is

¹⁹ We have drawn upon the results of most of the tests in writing up the sections on Tepoztecan character. However, with the exception of the Rorschach results, which are published here, the other test data will be published later.

²⁰ A few examples of the type of national studies I have in mind are Eyler N. Simpson, *The Ejido, Mexico's Way Out* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937); Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York: Century Co., 1928); Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929); Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

²¹ The work that Redfield and the Carnegie Institute of Washington carried on in Yucatán represents an exception. However, the primary orientation of the community studies in this program was to use Yucatán as a convenient laboratory for the study of theoretical problems concerning the nature of society and social change rather than toward a better understanding of Mexico and its problems.

treated as self-sufficient and isolated.²² Undoubtedly, this is a carry-over from an older anthropological tradition which was concerned with salvaging cultural data from rapidly disappearing primitive peoples. While such an approach might still have some justification in dealing with an isolated tribe in the jungles of New Guinea, it has little justification in studies of modern nations like Mexico.

The common cultural heritage of Spain has reached into the most distant corners of Mexico since early colonial times; and since the Revolution of 1910-20, even the more isolated villages have become increasingly drawn into the main stream of national life and have felt the impact of national policies and programs. Tepoztlán is subject to national Mexican law, its *ejido* program is part of a national program, its school system is regulated by the Federal Department of Education, its forests are protected by the Federal Department of Forestry, and in a more general way its economic life is part of the larger economy of the state of Morelos and the nation. In this sense, then, the culture of Tepoztlán is part of the larger culture of Mexico and must be examined in that context.

In studying communities in Mexico it is important that the anthropologist become a student not merely of the single community but of the region and nation as well. The anthropologist must be sufficiently versed in the more important historical, geographical, economic, and cultural characteristics of the region and nation to be able to place his community in relation to each of them, and to indicate just what the community is representative of in the larger scene. Like the sociologist, the anthropologist must become skilled in the use of census data and comparative statistics to relate and compare population trends, standards of living, health and education, and types of agricultural problems. In the matter of cultural characteristics the anthropologist must know what is unique to his community and what it shares with broader areas, what is new and what is old, what is primitive and what is modern.

It seems to me that such a procedure makes for a better sense of perspective in understanding the local scene, and helps to distinguish more clearly between what is local and what is widespread.²³ It makes local materials more useful to other social scientists as well as to government administrators concerned with action programs. Furthermore, it offers an excellent opportunity to study the way in which national events and programs such as the Revolution and the *ejido* program have worked out under local conditions. One of the questions to be considered in this study, therefore, is: What is Tepoztlán representative of in rural Mexico?

It has become commonplace in writing about Mexico to begin by emphasizing the great diversity in geography, language, and the cultural levels of the people. Diversity is undoubtedly one of the important characteristics of the country, but we must not overlook the fact that within this diversity there are underlying similarities in trends and problems as well as in culture. These similarities are the result

²² For a similar criticism see Julian Steward's paper, "Some Limitations of Anthropological Community Studies," read at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, 1948.

²³ A recent monograph on a Tarascan village devotes considerable space to describing children's games, which are known throughout most of Mexico and in other parts of Latin America, as though these games were a distinctively local Tarascan phenomenon.

177 The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 was a turning point in the history of
 669 Tepoztlán as well as of the nation, and was a major influence in breaking down any
 remaining isolation of the village. Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapatista country,
 and few villages suffered greater upheavals. The village was alternately occupied
 by opposing Zapatista and federal forces recruited from all parts of the country, and
 [144] both left their progeny in the village, further adding to the mixture of physical
 types. At one time or another during this period the entire population fled to the
 hills or to Mexico City, Guerrero, Puebla, and other parts of the country, and as
 a result there is a large proportion of adults who have lived outside of Tepoztlán.

[63] The Revolution also brought about the overthrow of the ruling *cacique* group in
 Tepoztlán and a general lessening of social and economic class differences. The
 [57] communal lands which had been under the control of local *caciques* were now
 [42] freely available to all Tepoztecos. Furthermore, the municipio regained the land
 it had lost to a neighboring hacienda and thus participated in the benefits of the
 national *ejido* program. In addition, the Revolution has meant a general rise in
 the standard of living, the expansion of educational facilities, as well as a weakening
 [57] of the older concepts of authoritarianism and a corresponding strengthening of
 democratic values.

171 Tepoztlán mirrors many national trends and brings into sharp focus some of the
 most pressing problems of Mexico as a nation. The changes which have occurred
 177 in Tepoztlán since the Revolution, such as the introduction of corn mills, the building
 105 of modern highways, and the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, are
 typical of changes that are taking place over wide areas throughout Mexico. The
 poor agricultural resources, the relative importance of forest and grazing lands in
 the agricultural economy, soil erosion and exhaustion, deforestation, the small size
 of both private and *ejido* landholdings, population pressure, and low productivity
 are among the problems which stand out in Tepoztlán as in the nation. One of the
 advantages of studying these problems within the framework of a single municipio
 [12] and village is that we can better understand the inter-relationship between geo-
 graphic, historic, economic, social, political, and psychological factors; and above
 all, it is possible to know better what these problems and changes mean to the
 people themselves.

171 It is important, also, to consider the ways in which Tepoztlán is distinctive. If
 105 we compare Tepoztlán with other villages in Mexico, rather than with the nation
 as a whole, we find that in many ways it is atypical. Tepoztlán is a large village,
 larger than ninety per cent of the villages of Mexico, making for a greater com-
 plexity of social organization. Tepoztlán has been a political and administrative
 center of the municipio since the Conquest and even under Moctezuma; it has re-
 tained its communal lands,²⁹ a long tradition of literacy, and a local intelligentsia

[114] ²⁹ Simpson, in connection with an otherwise excellent critique of Chase's romantic version
 of Tepoztlán, has written that Tepoztlán cannot be considered a "typical" Mexican village or
 municipio because, according to Helen Phipps (*Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico*
 —*A Historical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1925), p. 120) it was the only village
 in the entire state of Morelos which maintained its communal lands. It seems to me that Phipps'
 statement is a considerable exaggeration. At least three of the municipios surrounding Te-
 poztlán did not lose all of their communal lands before the Revolution; their lands, like those

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tury seemed to have little effect on Tepoztecan internal structure. The political life of the village continued in the hands of families who represented a mixture of the old *principales* and the new Spanish elite.

During the Díaz regime the domination of the village by the upper *cacique* group reached its peak, and class distinctions were marked. The *caciques* owned most of the privately held land, controlled the communal lands of the municipio and the local government, and formed an elite group who had social contacts with the elite of Cuernavaca and even of Mexico City. They were set apart from the rest of the village population by their large and more elaborate homes located in the center of the village, their urban styled clothing, their literacy and superior education. Vicente Ortega, the *cacique* in power almost until the outbreak of the Revolution, was a *compadre* of the governor of the state of Morelos, and served as a representative to the state legislature; and other leading Tepoztecan achieved high positions in the state administrative hierarchy.

The Revolution transformed the social structure of the village. The upper or *cacique* families fled the village for their lives and lost most of their wealth, particularly their cattle and artisan shops. The poor who remained also had to leave the village repeatedly, and sought refuge in the surrounding *cerros* when government troops were approaching. Once peace was restored, the families slowly began to return to the village. Some of the *caciques* or their sons also returned to take up residence in their battered or burned homes. It was necessary for all, rich and poor, to begin life anew and build back to normalcy. But they were building within a new social framework. The participation of the villagers in the ranks of the Zapatista forces, the revolutionary slogans of "land and liberty" and "down with the *caciques*" had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and acted as a distinct levelling influence. The political dominance of the *caciques* was gone. And a fundamental economic change had occurred, for the communal lands of the municipio, which constituted about eighty per cent of all the lands, were again available to the villagers. By 1930 the village had also recovered its *ejido* from one of the nearby haciendas, further broadening the land base in the village.

FACTORS IN STATUS

Today, class distinctions in Tepoztlán are much less marked; the former economic and social bases for class distinctions are gone.² But there are numerous status distinctions in the village, and the possibility of some future development of sharper stratification on the basis of wealth can be seen. It might be more accurate to describe present-day Tepoztlán as an incipient class society.³ Sex, age, and kinship

² Memory of former class distinctions remains and exerts some influence. The expression, "He is the son of a *cacique* family," was used repeatedly by our informants.

³ The term "class" is used here in the traditional sense to distinguish between broad social groupings differentiated from other groupings by their relationship to the process of production, by occupational distinctions, income levels, and a sense of social distance that makes for cohesive social groups over a period of time. In this definition I follow MacIver who writes, "It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinc-

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554 are the basic factors in social differentiation, while differences in wealth, education,
565 and living standards distinguish individuals but not cohesive social groups.

SEX AND AGE

562 Sex and age differences are the basic factors in the ascription of status and in the structuring of inter-personal relations. Male superiority is accepted as part of the order of things. Women are expected to show deference and respect to men; wives [593] to husbands, sisters to brothers. Sexual differentials are marked in the rearing of children, in the division of labor, and in the privileges and responsibilities of individuals at each stage of the life cycle. Men assume all important leadership roles, economic, political, social, and religious. The double standard in sexual relations is practiced by men, and is generally accepted by women. However, women have comparatively high status; they may own and inherit property, participate in religious life, and as mothers enjoy an important role within the home.

561 The principle of respect for age is second only to that of male superiority. Young people must address older people by the respectful *Vd.*, and in turn are addressed by the more familiar *tú*. The basic age divisions or statuses recognized in the village are five: (1) *criatura* (infant), until about age two or weaning time; (2) *niño* [192] (child), from two to about twelve; (3) *jóvenes, muchacho, muchacha*, or *señorita*, [195] from about twelve until marriage; (4) *adulto or hombre* (man) and *mujer* (woman), from marriage in the case of a man, and after having one or two children in the case of a young married girl; (5) *anciano or virjo* (the aged).

858 The infant status is by far the most privileged. Infants get a great deal of attention and care. Notwithstanding the widespread preference for boys, there are practically no sexual differentials in the treatment accorded infants.

[856] The child status is an extended one, and the development of the child is viewed as a slow process which must not be unduly hurried. In the early years the child is [867] expected to learn the all-important virtues of obedience and respect for parents, [868] older siblings, and other adults. Responsibilities and work are assumed earlier by girls than by boys, but in both cases it is generally gradual. Nevertheless, the period of childhood is a relatively difficult one. It is a time when punishments are given, when play must be gradually restricted and finally eliminated. It is also the period of greatest demands and least rewards.

882 The period of youth is the time when both boys and girls assume adult work roles. They are not viewed as adults, however, and do their work under the supervision of their parents. The sexual differentials in this stage are very sharp, and boys have much more personal freedom than girls. This period of youth is generally longer for boys than girls, since the latter marry earlier. Young men, however, may not hold public office or be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the barrio.

121 tive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, that draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each class and stratifies a whole society." Cf. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1949), p. 349. It will become apparent to the reader that Tepoztlán has no classes in the above sense. However, in terms of the Warner approach, many classes and subclasses might be found in Tepoztlán.
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shawls, and skirts; men use black and grey serapes; pottery is invariably of unadorned clay. Although *rebozos* of many colors and patterns are easily available in Cuernavaca, there is hardly a Tepoztecan woman or girl who wears anything but a dark blue, brown, grey, or black *rebozo*. The desire to be inconspicuous and less easily identifiable is one of the underlying reasons for this choice. There is also a belief that it is dangerous to wear bright colors, because the rainbow is attracted to them and will follow them.

There is a marked quality of detachment in inter-personal relations in Tepostlan. Although living side by side, Tepoztecan communicate little of their innermost thoughts, aspirations, fears, likes, and dislikes and, for the most part, remain strangers to one another.² While a man may know a great deal about most of his neighbors in a small barrio, and about some in other barrios, and may know them as so-called whole persons, that is, in their various roles as parents, neighbors, godparents, *mayordomos*, or farmers, what is known are the relatively superficial aspects of personality only. Tepoztecan are a practical people concerned with external behavior, and they judge others by actions rather than by attitudes, ideas, or inner life.

When a Tepoztecan is asked to describe the personality of another, the most frequently used terms for positive traits are "hard worker," "serious," "neatly," "intelligent," "honorable," "good person," and "good humored." The most commonly pointed out negative traits are "liar," "foolish," "stingy," "drunkard," "talkative," "coward," "crazy," "bad tempered," and "miserable." Traits which imply knowledge about the internal life and quality of an individual, such as "warm" or "cold," "imaginative" or "unimaginative," "sensitive" or "hard," "sympathetic" or "unsympathetic," etc., are significantly absent.

Like many peasant peoples, Tepoztecan are not introspective. They have little insight in understanding their own character and even less of others. There is little interest in or need for self-revelation, mutual confidences, confession, or lengthy conversation; imaginativeness, fantasy life, originality, initiative, and individuality are either undeveloped or suppressed. Always, the emphasis is upon conformity to traditional ways.³

The general restraint and constriction which characterize most inter-personal relations are also seen in the relations between the sexes and in the prevailing atti-

² Sol Tax has called attention to the impersonality of relations between traders in the Guatemalan highlands. See his "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), pp. 22-42.

³ I should like to call attention to some of the implications of the above for the traditional distinction made by many sociologists between folk and urban society in terms of primary and secondary relationships. This distinction assumes that in the folk society, which is a small society, most relations are of a face-to-face type and therefore of an intimate nature. In contrast to the impersonal and superficial relationships in the city. The point is that, within the category of primary relationships, the range in the quality of these relationships may be so great as to require finer distinctions. Certainly, for purposes of cultural and psychological analysis, the folk-urban dichotomy is inadequate in that it lumps together societies which are very different. See also Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 433.

*general
observations on the life cycle:* 20

- 12 THE QUESTIONS with which we are here concerned are as follows: (1) What, in summary, are the general qualities of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán? In other words, what is the Tepoztecan social character? (2) How are the adult attitudes and value systems of Tepozteicans reflected in child training patterns? (3) To what extent does the training of children in Tepoztlán prepare them for adult life? (4) What are the conflict points and inconsistencies in this culture, and how do they affect the lives of men and women?

157 As we have seen, Tepozteicans value hard work, thrift, practicality, restraint, submission to authority, and the ability to conform. In inter-personal relations, [18] Tepozteicans are detached, individualistic, and sensitive to status differences, with a generalized readiness to be suspicious, negativistic, and even hostile. Gossip, complaint, envy, and criticism are common. Tepozteicans are a constricted people, as seen in their lack of warmth and limited expression of affection, in their attitudes toward sex, and in their general absence of self-expression. Fantasy, imagination, and creativity are at a minimum; although Tepozteicans are turned within themselves, they are not dreamers. They are an indirect people; they frequently rely upon the use of intermediaries and upon formality. Deception also is a sanctioned form of indirection, and the direct expression of aggression is strongly discouraged. Competition between individuals is rare. When competition occurs, it is between groups, thereby giving it a quality of impersonality. Finally, the aspiration level of most Tepozteicans does not place an undue burden on them and does not lead to any marked anxiety.

155 The patterns of child training in Tepoztlán reflect many of the attitudes and value systems noted above. One of the underlying principles in child rearing is to develop children who are easy to control. Submissiveness, quietness, passivity, and dependence are all encouraged; activity, aggression, demanding, self-gratification, curiosity, and independence are discouraged. This is manifested in the long nursing period, in swaddling and restricting the movements of the child, in the belief that the child must not cry, in the absence of preoccupation with training the child to walk, talk, eat alone, and develop sphincter control.

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183 responsibilities, but as they mature after marriage they slowly gain more freedom
562 and often take a dominating position in the household.

183 One of the discontinuities in the life of men is found in connection with sex. Al-
562 though sexuality is inhibited all through childhood, young men are subjected to
831 pressure from members of their age group to be sexually active. To have many
155 sweethearts and sexual affairs before and after marriage is expected and admired.

831 In practice, however, relatively few men in Tepoztlán achieve the reputation of
155 being *muy macho*. On the contrary, boys are often timid in courtship and in many
cases are initiated in their first sex experience by older girls or women. In the case
of women, there is much less inconsistency between childhood training and ac-
ceptable adult behavior. Girls are expected to be ignorant of sex before marriage
and to behave with fidelity and restraint after marriage. Girls and women who have
illicit sexual relations are considered "bad" or "crazy." Women tend to express
rebellion and dissatisfaction with their situation by taking a lover. In effect, then,
while the sex activity of men is an expression of manliness, in women it is a form of
delinquency.

183 Still another discrepancy between theory and practice in Tepoztecan society is
562 that, despite the greater freedom of men and their higher social status, it is the
571 women who have greater opportunities for social life and appear to be better so-
155 cialized. Women visit with neighbors and relatives more than men. Their daily
trips to the plaza offer an occasion for gossip and news. They attend church more
often. This greater socialization begins early in life. While the girls take care of
their brothers and sisters, the young boys are out in the fields caring for the animals.
Men spend most of their days alone at their work in the fields. Occasions for com-
munal work are few and are almost always accompanied by drinking. Men do not
seem to be at ease in groups, unless they are fortified by alcohol.

● 121 OBSERVATIONS ON THE CULTURE-PERSONALITY PROBLEM

We come now to the broad problem of the relationship between culture and
personality. What light does the Tepoztecan material throw on this problem? In
attempting to think this through I have arrived at a tentative reformulation of the
problem in terms of some conceptual distinctions which are presented in the fol-
lowing pages.

Whether or not the study of culture throws light upon personality depends in
large measure on how we define the terms culture and personality. If the approach
to culture is that of the older anthropology which emphasized descriptions of ex-
ternal forms and customs, then one might expect little relationship between cul-
ture and personality. People having different forms of dress, speaking different
languages, and having different religions may still have many similarities in per-
sonality. But if the core of the culture concept is seen as the attitudes and value
systems and their manifestation in inter-personal relations, then there is a very
close relationship between culture and personality.

A definition of personality presents greater difficulties. Despite the extensive

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literature in this field there is still considerable disagreement about basic definitions. One of the key points of difference is whether or not to include behavior in the definition of personality.¹ Some psychologists like Katz and Schanck,² Guthrie,³ and Young⁴ include behavior. Others, like Allport,⁵ Newcomb,⁶ and Stagner,⁷ formally exclude it. Some of our leading anthropologists, like Linton, Gillin, and Kluckhohn, follow the latter group in excluding behavior from their definition of personality and have stressed the subjective element, a position which Bidney has characterized as "idealist, mentalist." Bidney has shown some of the logical problems raised by creating a duality between culture and personality.⁸ It seems to me that the inclusion of behavior in the definition of personality resolves most of these problems.

More important than the inclusion or exclusion of behavior in the definition of personality is the question as to the role given to values in the total personality. Most contemporary psychological theory considers characteristic mental states,

¹ The identical problem is seen in the differences in modern anthropological definitions of culture. Thus, Linton includes behavior, whereas Redfield leaves it out. Linton writes, "A culture is the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society." Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York and London: Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1945), p. 32.

Redfield, on the other hand, views culture as "... the conventional understandings expressed in act and artifact, that characterize societies." Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, p. 132.

My own conception of culture follows Linton in including behavior, but I would stress the system of inter-personal relations.

² "Personality is the concept under which we subsume the individual's characteristic ideational, emotional, and motor reactions and the characteristic organization of these responses." Daniel Katz and Richard L. Schanck, *Social Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1938), p. 391.

³ "A man's personality at any given time consists of those modes of his behavior which we judge will show comparatively strong resistance to change." Edwin R. Guthrie, *The Psychology of Human Conflict* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 136.

⁴ "For our purposes we define personality as the more or less integrated body of habits, attitudes, traits and ideas of an individual as these are organized externally into specific and general roles and statuses and internally around self-consciousness and the concept of the self, and around ideas, values, and purposes which are related to motives, roles, and status. In other words, personality has two aspects: role and status with respect to behavior affecting others, and selfhood, ego, or life organization with regard to internal motivation, goals and the ways of viewing one's own and others' behavior. More briefly, it concerns overt action and meaning as these are oriented about one's interactions with one's fellows." Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1944), p. 120.

⁵ "Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment." Gordon W. Allport, *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937), p. 48.

⁶ "... we shall mean by personality the individual's organization of predispositions to behavior, including predispositions to both directive and expressive behavior." Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), pp. 344-45.

⁷ Stagner defines personality as "... an inner system of beliefs, expectancies, desires, and values." Ross Stagner, *The Psychology of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948), p. 6. I am grateful to Ross Stagner for helpful discussions in the culture-personality field.

⁸ David Bidney, "Toward a Psychocultural Definition of the Concept of Personality," *Culture and Personality* (New York: Viking Fund, 1949), pp. 31-58.

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● 121 emotions, and drives as the core of the personality—the most basic determinants of behavior. Attitudes and values are generally placed in the peripheral “layers” of the personality, which presumably are more readily changed. In contrast to this position, I would like to suggest that the value system of an individual is perhaps one of the most important determinants of behavior and a most stable component of the total personality. It is the great organizing principle of the personality. To understand the total personality of an individual we must understand the content and quality of his value system, its degree of consistency, its relation to the realities of the environment in which he lives, and the degree to which it is in accord with the accepted cultural values of his society.⁹ The approach to personality suggested in the following pages therefore places great weight on the factor of values.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PERSONALITY

As I see it, the total personality of an individual is the organization of his biophysical and psychological states and processes, his characteristic overt action and reaction patterns, and his attitudes and values. For purposes of research and analysis in culture and personality, it is helpful to distinguish between two fundamental aspects of the total personality of an individual; that is, the private personality and the public personality. The underlying principle in this distinction is of a functional nature. The public personality of an individual includes all those aspects of the total personality which are directly and appreciably influenced by the social norms and which, in turn, directly and appreciably influence or determine the social behavior of an individual. The private personality of an individual includes all those aspects which are not sensitive to social norms and which do not directly affect social behavior. The public or private quality of any single component within the total personality is a relative matter; that is, it depends upon the degree and manner in which it affects behavior. The relative nature of this distinction between public and private personality also follows from the fact that the concept “person” is logically dependent upon and, in a sense, implies the concept of society and culture.

The distinction between the public and private aspects of the total personality is not intended to be rigid, for we do not think of these as permanent compartmentalized configurations of traits but rather as two systems, the component parts of which may be interacting. The same trait in the same individual may move from the private to the public category if it becomes directly effective in influencing his social behavior. For example, so long as a person feels great sympathy for mistreated animals but does nothing to express this feeling, then it is part of his private personality. But should he write a poem about dogs or protect stray dogs or join a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, then this feeling of sympathy is part of his public personality. In addition, we may find that a similarity between

⁹ Relatively little work has been done on the role of values in the total personality.

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two traits which are functioning simultaneously in the private and public personality may be due to some more basic trait which is affecting both.¹⁰

The traits which are to be considered part of the private or public personality of an individual are in large measure determined by the culture. For example, for most people in our society the dream would be included in the private personality. On the other hand, among the Blackfoot, a Plains Indian tribe, the culture defines the dream as the major source of individual supernatural power—most young men seek dreams to obtain a guardian spirit, and some may buy visions—and the dream directly affects behavior and is part of the public personality. Another cross-cultural example is the relation between temperament and public personality. In a society which places high value on personal success and individual development we might expect that temperament would be a much more important factor in the public personality of individuals than it is in a society like that of the Tepoztecan or the Hopi which emphasizes conformity.¹¹

Just as the culture influences the determination of what traits are to be private or public, so we find that the total area of the private and public aspects of the personality may vary by cultures. In a community like Tepoztlán where a much larger segment of behavior is considered private than in a middle-class American community, an equivalent description of the public personality tells much less about the total personality of Tepoztecan than of Americans.

The dynamics of change in the private and public aspects of the personality of an individual are quite different. The private personality is subject to relatively little pressure by the social norms, for either change or conformity. The public personality, on the other hand, is subject to the pressures toward conformity in the form of rewards and punishments. As a result, we would expect to find a wider range of individual differences in the private personality than in the public personality.¹²

Our distinction between private and public aspects of the personality has some

¹⁰ It may be said that we are not dealing with a private and public aspect of personality but rather with a private expression of a psychological trait vs. a public expression of a psychological trait. This formulation, though attractive in its simplicity, is not acceptable because it tends toward the conception of traits as static entities which exist independently of their function in a field situation. In this case our categories of private and public define the field. Our conception of personality begins with very broad factors like constitution, psychological processes, and values, which become individual personality traits only in given field situations. For example, if laziness is viewed as a psychological trait, then it is in the person at all times, waiting to be expressed. But even "lazy" men work hard sometimes. If, however, laziness is viewed as a predisposition toward laziness, then a man can be considered as lazy only when he acts lazy. What Neuwirth calls a "predisposition" would be the equivalent of our "psychological state" but not of a psychological trait.

¹¹ This suggests that the great interest of modern psychologists in individuality and in private personality reflects the culture in which they live.

¹² McQuitty has provided us with some evidence for this. See Louis L. McQuitty, "Effective Items in the Measurement of Personality Integration," *Journal of Educational and Psychological Measurements* (in press). I am grateful to Professor McQuitty for making this manuscript available to me.

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121 precedent in the distinction made by psychologists between personal and public attitudes.¹³ It is also somewhat similar to what McQuitty is getting at in his distinction between subjective and objective cues in the answering of questions by his subjects. Our distinction differs from the traditional overt-covert dichotomy in that we may include overt private behavior as well as introspection under the private personality. Secret masturbation, for example, would be part of one's private personality, provided it did not directly and appreciably affect the carrying out of one's social roles. Any guilt feelings which might arise from this behavior will of course affect total personality, but so long as it does not significantly affect social behavior it remains part of the private personality.

Our distinction between the private and public aspects of the personality bears some resemblance in terminology to Lewin's distinction between the peripheral and central layers of the personality, or what he calls "the private and non-private personal regions."¹⁴ However, our conception of private and public personality is quite different from Lewin's. His conception of the personality in terms of "layers" is structural rather than functional. His view of the "core" as the most important and stable element in the personality, and of the "periphery" as the least stable, is almost diametrically opposed to our conception of the relation between the private and public personality.

There are some interesting similarities between our twofold distinction of private and public personality and Mowrer's two-factor learning theory.¹⁵ Just as the conception of a single learning process was an oversimplification so is the monistic conception of personality. The relationship between Mowrer's theory and the conception presented here is more than one of analogy. The two formulations dovetail one another. Mowrer's "sign learning" would fall within the private personality. His "solution learning" can be both private or public depending upon the culture, the situation, and the total personality.

Some questions which can only be mentioned now, but which deserve further study concern the different ways in which the private and public personality of an individual can be related, and how these differences affect the quality of the total personality. Are the two equally integrated? Can they be in conflict? To what degree can an individual be disturbed in the private personality without it appreciably affecting the total personality? Can we infer from the public personality of an individual what his private personality is?

In the light of the conception of personality which we have tentatively suggested, the culture-personality problem might be rephrased as follows: What is the rela-

¹³ Katz and Schanck, *Social Psychology*, pp. 443-44.

¹⁴ Kurt Lewin, "Some Social-Psychological Differences between the United States and Germany" in *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948). See especially pp. 20-24.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Professor Mowrer for calling this to my attention. For a full statement of his learning theory, see O. Hobart Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950).

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tionship between (1) public personality and culture; (2) private personality and culture; (3) total personality and culture?¹⁸ 121

The relationship between the public personality of an individual and the culture is the most obvious one. Viewing culture as an organized system of relationships between individuals in a given society, we see the individual expressing his public personality in the process of living out this system of relationships. The anthropologist in studying inter-personal relations is getting at the individual's public personality and the culture at the same time. This is not to say that the two are identical but that they are both facets of a single complex phenomenon. Neither can be conceived of without the other.

The culture provides the individual with a great part of his public personality in the form of defining social roles and presenting a body of traditions, customs, attitudes, and values. These are absorbed or internalized in varying degrees depending upon age, sex, class, and personal, historical, and accidental factors. We find, therefore, that the public personalities of individuals within a given society share many common elements and, at the same time, contain individual differences. The individual is not a passive agent of culture, and his public personality is by no means a mere reflection or rubber stamp of the culture. Obviously the individual receives from the culture more than he adds to it, but it is equally clear that the culture must exist or be perpetuated or changed, except through the expression of the public personalities of individuals.

The relationship between the private personality of an individual and his culture is much less obvious and more difficult to trace. This level of personality seems to be largely determined by many non-cultural factors such as constitution, condition of health, and unique life experiences or what Young called the "personal-social" factors. The cultural factors often function only indirectly by providing the conditions for certain experiences, by encouraging or discouraging practices affecting health, and so on. That the culture plays a *lesser* role in private personality is indicated by the greater variety and uniqueness of private personality components as compared with the public personality. While there are common elements in the private personalities of many individuals, there are fewer of them.

In the light of the distinctions made above, we might ask just what part of the culture-personality problem anthropologists have been reporting in their studies. Moreover, what are they best able to study in terms of their training and the conditions under which most field work in other societies is done? It seems to me that the anthropologist, in practice, has been primarily concerned with the relationship between the public personality and the culture. The explicit recognition of this—and the fact that, by and large, the anthropologist is not studying the private personality and is therefore getting only a limited understanding of the total personality—might help clarify some of the confusion in the culture-personality field.

¹⁸ I have included this question (3) to indicate the nature and complexity of the problem. However, this point will not be elaborated upon in the following discussion.

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121 and avoid much of the criticism that has been directed at anthropological writing in this field.¹⁷

In this study, therefore, I have not written about *the* Tepoztecan personality nor have I employed the concepts of "basic personality structure" or "modal personality." By limiting myself to a description of the quality of inter-personal relations I have attempted to get at some of the common aspects of the public personality of Tepoztecs, or what Fromm might call "the social character."

To make reliable and valid statements about the common elements in the total personality of individuals of a given community would require much more detailed and profound information than is available at present in most culture-personality studies.¹⁸ While the Rorschach and other projective tests get at the private component of the personality, comparisons of Rorschach findings with an anthropologist's findings are primarily between (1) private personality and public personality and (2) private personality and the culture—but not between total personality and the culture.

¹⁷ Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writing," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (Oct., 1950), pp. 587-600.

¹⁸ It should be noted in this connection that most of the biographies in the anthropological literature are useful primarily for what they reflect about the customs and the culture rather than for what they tell about the private personality. See Clyde Kluckhohn, "Needed Refinements in the Biographical Approach," *Culture and Personality* (New York: Viking Fund, 1949), pp. 75-92.

summary and conclusions:

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This study represents one of the few restudies of a community, in the field of anthropology. The reader who is familiar with the earlier study of Tepoztlán by Robert Redfield will want to know how our findings compare. Such a comparison is made here, not only for a better understanding of Tepoztlán, but also for its broader implications for anthropological method and theory. The questions are: To what extent and in what ways do the results obtained from the independent study of the same society by two anthropologists differ? What are the implications of such differences concerning the reliability and validity of anthropological reporting?

Anthropologists, who like to think that there is an element of science in the social sciences, including anthropology, have often called primitive societies the "laboratory" of the social scientists, where hypotheses about the nature of man and society can be tested. While the experiments and observations of the natural scientist are generally repeated and checked independently by different observers, the reports of anthropologists have to be accepted on their face value, and their reliability has to be judged in terms of the respect for and confidence in the author's integrity, the inner consistency of his work, and the extent to which it agrees with one's own preconceptions.¹ If the analogy with the natural sciences is to be taken seriously, we must develop methods for checking the reliability of our observations and the validity of interpretation. Restudy is one such method. This point has been recognized by a number of anthropologists,² but to date there have been very few

¹ In view of the increasing and often uncritical use which other social scientists have been making of anthropological data, the problem of reliability assumes much importance. Of course, in these times, when anthropologists are bravely writing about entire nations, it may seem downright heresy to suggest that there is still room for a critical reexamination of some of the methods and approaches used in the studies of the so-called simpler societies. And yet I am certain that many anthropologists and non-anthropologists alike have felt such a need. Bierstedt, for example, in his criticism of some recent anthropological studies of modern communities and nations, has suggested that these studies have stimulated "the growth of scepticism concerning the information which anthropologists have given us about non-literate peoples." See Robert Bierstedt, "The Limitations of Anthropological Methods in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, LIV (1948), 22-30.

² Linton, in discussing the difficulties in studying the covert aspects of culture and the dangers

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114 restudies.⁹ The reasons for this are many. Perhaps most important have been the
 121 limited funds for field research, the time pressure of studying tribes who were rapidly becoming extinct, the shortage of field workers, the greater appeal in studying a community never before studied, and finally, the lack of emphasis upon methodology.

COMPARISON WITH REDFIELD'S FINDINGS

As has already been pointed out, our study of Tepoztlán was not originally intended as a restudy of Redfield's work but rather as a continuation of it. When the study was begun I did not anticipate that there would be any fundamental differences between our findings. In the course of the work, however, many differences did emerge. These differences range from discrepancies in factual details to differences in the over-all view of Tepoztecan society and its people. Many of the differences have been discussed in the earlier sections of this work. Here I will sum up some of the broader and more fundamental differences in the findings of the two studies.

114 The impression given by Redfield's study of Tepoztlán is that of a relatively
 182 homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning, and well-integrated society made up
 578 of a contented and well-adjusted people. His picture of the village has a Rousseauian quality which glosses lightly over evidence of violence, disruption, cruelty, disease,

involved in making generalizations on the basis of the limited sampling used by most anthropologists, writes, "The only check on such potential sources of error which is possible at the present time is to have each society studied by several investigators. These investigators should work independently and should be as diverse in their own personality configurations as possible." Linton, *Cultural Background*, p. 40.

The need for independent restudies was also suggested in 1933 by Radin, who wrote, "It cannot be too strongly stressed not only that the field ethnologist collects the facts but that his description is most likely to remain the final picture of a given culture, from which no appeal can be made. What more natural than that this semidivine function which has been thrust upon him should make him feel that the facts are peculiarly his, obtained by the sweat of his brow. For any one to question them is not merely an impertinence but a direct aspersion upon his character and veracity. This attitude, particularly prevalent in the United States, that the specific field of inquiry represents an ethnologist's private preserve wherein no one else may hunt has done inestimable harm and frequently has meant that a tribe has been described by only one person. It has sometimes been contended that the dangers attendant upon a tribe's being described by one person have been exaggerated, that, somehow, a description proves itself." Paul Radin, *The Method and Theory of Ethnology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), pp. 102-04.

To my knowledge, Margaret Mead is the only modern anthropologist who has expressed serious doubts about the advisability and usefulness of restudies. For her statement, see "The Mountain Arapesh," *Anthropological Papers of American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 41, Pt. 3 (1949), pp. 296-97.

⁹ Many tribes and villages have been studied by more than one investigator, but in most cases the studies have been what might be called additive rather than restudies of the earlier work. In addition there have been restudies by the same investigators, for example, Lynds' *Middletown in Transition* and more recently Redfield's *A Village That Chose Progress*. A field team of husband and wife gives us some independence of observation, and in fact may lead to quite different interpretations. Compare, for example, Reo F. Fortune's impressions of the Arapesh with Mead's.

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at large. A study of the personnel of each of the local government administrations (*ayuntamientos*) from 1926 to 1947 gives no support to Redfield's statement that politics, like the religious fiestas, are in the hands of the *tontos*.

The use of the terms "*tonto*" and "*correcto*" to designate social groups, which did not and do not exist and operate as such, makes much of Redfield's analysis of Tepoztecan society oversimplified, schematic, and unreal. We found a much wider range of custom and belief among the so-called "*tontos*" than was reported by Redfield, and by the same token there was less of a gap between the *tontos* and *correctos*. While Redfield's concept would tend to make for two cultures, we see Tepoztlán as a single culture, with more and less acculturated individuals in close and frequent contact, each influencing the other, as they have for the past four hundred years.

IMPLICATIONS OF OUR DIFFERENCES

More important than the differences in our findings is the question of how to explain these differences. I suppose that in a sense it is inevitable that different students studying the same society will arrive at different conclusions. Certainly the personal factor, and what Redfield has recently referred to as the element of art in social science, cannot be overlooked.⁵ Nevertheless the differences in our findings on Tepoztlán are of such magnitude as to demand some further and more detailed explanation.

Some of the differences in our data can be explained by changes which have occurred in the village in the interim of nearly twenty years between our studies. These changes have already been outlined in an earlier publication⁶ and are discussed throughout this book. Other differences result from the difference in the general scope of the two studies. This study had the advantage of having Redfield's pioneer work to start with, the assistance of Mexican personnel, more than twice the amount of time for field work, and the development, during the past twenty years, of new approaches and methods, especially in the field of culture and personality. The much greater emphasis upon economic analysis in this study also reflects a fairly recent trend in anthropology. In addition, the fact that this study was based on the testimony of well over one hundred informants, as compared to about a half-dozen used by Redfield, revealed a wide range of individual differences and enabled more thorough checking of data.

Still other differences, such as those summarized in the preceding pages, must be attributed for the most part to differences in theoretical orientation and methodology which in turn influenced the selection and coverage of facts and the way in which these facts were organized. In rereading Redfield's study in the light of my

⁵ Some sociologists like Mannheim would go even farther. He writes, "It could be shown in all cases that not only do fundamental orientations, evaluations, and the content of ideas differ, but that the manner of stating a problem, the sort of approach made, and even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected and ordered, vary according to the social position of the observer." Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 13.

⁶ See Lewis, "Social and Economic Changes in a Mexican Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1944).

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114 own work in the village, it seems to me that the concept of the folk-culture and folk-
 121 urban continuum was Redfield's organizing principle in the research. Perhaps this helps to explain his emphasis on the formal and ritualistic aspects of life rather than the everyday life of the people and their problems, on evidence of homogeneity rather than heterogeneity and the range of custom, on the weight of tradition rather than deviation and innovation, on unity and integration rather than tensions and conflict.

Redfield's interest was primarily in the study of a single cultural process: the evolution from folk to urban, rather than a well-rounded ethnographic account. He only incidentally considered Tepoztlán in its historical, geographical, and cultural context in Morelos and Mexico, and attempted rather to place Tepoztlán within the broader, more abstract context of the folk-urban continuum.

The questions he asked of his data were quite different from those asked in this study. For example, unlike the present study, he was not concerned with determining just what Tepoztlán is typical of in relation to rural Mexico; nor was he concerned with determining how a study of Tepoztlán might reveal some of the underlying characteristics and problems of Mexico as a whole. Thus, the Revolution in Tepoztlán is not analyzed in terms of its social, economic, and political effects upon the village, nor in terms of what light it might throw upon the nature of the Revolution as a whole, but rather in regard to the more limited question of the emergence of Zapata as a "folk hero."

114 CRITIQUE OF REDFIELD'S CONCEPT OF FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM

121 Since the concept of the folk society as an ideal type is, after all, a matter of defini-
 177 tion,^{*} there can be no quarrel with it as such, provided that it can be shown to have
 369 heuristic value. On the basis of our study of Tepoztlán, however, I should like to point out a number of limitations I have found in the conceptual framework of the folk-urban continuum, both as a scheme for the study of culture change and for cultural analysis. These criticisms can be discussed under six related points.

(1) The folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change, to the exclusion or neglect of other factors of an internal or external nature. So-called folk societies have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of such inter-action has come cultural change. As we have seen, the archaeological record in Tepoztlán, as well as in other parts of Mexico, indicates quite clearly a great mingling of peoples and cultures, which dates back at least a thousand years before the Spanish Conquest. Tepoztlán itself

^{*} It should be noted that Redfield's use of the term "folk" and "folk society" has not always been consistent. In the study of Tepoztlán, he used it sometimes in a non-technical and popular sense, as when he speaks of folk dances, folk music, and folklore. (Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 173.) But for the most part he defines the folk society as an intermediate stage between the truly primitive tribe and the urban community. This position was also taken in his article on "The Folk Society and Culture" in 1940. But in 1947, in another article ("The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 293) he sets up the folk society as an ideal type which includes the primitive tribal society.

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was first conquered by the Toltecs and later by the Aztecs, and with each conquest came new influences, new religious ideas, and new customs.

Another example of non-urban factors in culture change can be seen in the case of Tepoztlán and other parts of Latin America, where the introduction of rural culture elements was at least as far reaching in effect as any changes brought about by later urban influences. Similarly, we find that the Mexican Agrarian Revolution (particularly in its Zapatista phase) was a profound influence for change, but can hardly be classified as an urban influence. It is evident that the folk-urban continuum concept deals with only one of a wide variety of situations which may lead to culture change.⁸ In the case of Tepoztlán, to study the urban factors alone would give us only a partial picture of culture change.

(2) It follows that in many instances culture change may not be a matter of a folk-urban progression, but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. For example, we have seen that the incorporation of Spanish rural elements, such as the plow, oxen, plants, and many folk beliefs, did not make Tepoztlán more urban, but rather gave it a more varied rural culture. The introduction of plow culture in Tepoztlán did not eliminate the older system of hoe culture but gave the Tepoztecs an alternative and, in some ways, more efficient method of farming, making for greater heterogeneity in the economic life and in the forms of social relationships.

(3) Some of the criteria used in the definition of the folk society are treated by Redfield as linked or interdependent variables, but might better be treated as independent variables. Sol Tax, in his study of Guatemalan societies, has shown that societies can be both culturally well organized and homogeneous and, at the same time, highly secular, individualistic, and commercialistic.⁹ He has also shown that inter-personal relations in a small and homogeneous society can be characterized by formalism and impersonality. His findings are supported by our Tepoztec study. Moreover, our study shows other possible combinations of variables. Thus, whereas Tax found family disorganization as a concomitant of commercialism, in Tepoztlán the family remains strong, and there is little evidence of family disorganization. Moreover, collective forms of land tenure exist side by side with private land ownership and individual working of the land.

(4) The typology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to obscure one of the most significant findings of modern cultural anthropology, namely, the wide range in the ways of life and in the value systems among so called primitive peoples. The folk society as used by Redfield would group together food-gathering, hunting, pastoral, and agricultural peoples, without distinction.¹⁰ Simi-

⁸ See his recent elaboration of his sacred-secular dichotomy, each with numerous subtypes, as a much broader typology embracing a wider range of culture change situations. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 361-75.

⁹ Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," *Scientific Monthly*, XI VIII (May, 1939), 463-7; and "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 42-42.

¹⁰ To apply the term "folk society" to high cultures like that of the Aztecs (Tepoztlán was

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114 lary, it would put into one category societies which are as different culturally and
121 psychologically as the Arunta and the Eskimo, the Dobu and the Ba Thonga, the
Zuni and the Alorese, the Dahomey and the Navaho. Indeed, one might argue that
the folk-urban classification is not a cultural classification at all since it rides
roughshod over fundamental cultural differences, i.e., differences in the ethos of a
people. The point is that the attitudes and value systems of folk societies may re-
semble some urban societies much more than other folk societies. For example, the
individualism and competitiveness of the Blackfoot Indians remind one much
more of American urban value systems than those of the Zuni.¹¹ This suggests that
the criteria used in the folk-urban classification are concerned with the purely formal
aspects of society and are not the most crucial for cultural analysis.¹²

What has been said of the folk end of the folk-urban formula applies also to the
urban end. Focusing only on the formal aspects of urban society reduces all urban
societies to a common denominator and treats them as if they all had the same cul-
ture. Thus Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Medieval, twentieth-century American and
Russian cities would all be put into the same class.¹³ To take but one example,
there are obvious and significant differences between American and Russian urban
culture, and in all probability these two "urban influences" would have a very dif-
ferent effect upon a preliterate society exposed to them.

It should be clear that the concept "urban" is too much of a catchall to be useful
for cultural analysis. Moreover, it is suggested here that the question posed by
Redfield, namely, what happens to an isolated homogeneous society when it comes
into contact with an urbanized society, cannot possibly be answered in a scientific
way, because the question is too general and the terms used do not give us the
necessary data. What we need to know is what kind of an urban society, under what
conditions of contact, and a host of other specific historical data.

(5) The folk-urban classification has serious limitations in guiding field research

[181] part of this high culture area) and at the same time to apply it to simple food-gathering peoples
like the Shoshone, robs the term of much of its discriminatory value. Also, to write of a "folk
element" in Tepoztlán in 1926 (the so-called *tontor*) as if it were identical with the folk element
of the pre-Hispanic days neglects all the cultural influences to which this element had been
subjected in the intervening four hundred years and blurs many distinctions which have to be
made.

¹¹ Becker makes a similar observation that "primitive" societies may readily approximate the
secular rather than the sacred type of society. He cites the Comanche as an example.

¹² Herskovits has made a similar point in his criticism of the folk-urban classification. He
wrote, "In such systems [of classification] the orientation is in terms of categories based on form,
rather than problems phrased in terms of process." Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works*
(New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947), p. 607.

¹³ Herskovits, using African materials, has made a similar criticism. "It is also to be noted that
in discussions of the folk society, African data are nowhere taken into account. In West Africa,
however, many urban communities are to be found that range from one hundred thousand in-
habitants [the approximate size of Merida, Redfield's Yucatán "city"] to over three hundred
and fifty thousand. These populations have complex specialized economies exhibiting, as we have
seen, the use of money and the presence of profit motivation. Yet in these cities relationships are
as personal as in any 'folk society' and religion is the focal aspect of the culture. In short, here
we have an anomaly—an anomaly, that is, in terms of the concept of the folk society—of urban,
sacred, communities." *Ibid.*, p. 606.

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because of the highly selective implications of the categories themselves and the rather narrow focus of problem. The emphasis upon essentially formal aspects of culture leads to neglect of psychological data and, as a rule, does not give insight into the character of the people. We have already shown how this approach has influenced the selection, interpretation, and organization of the data in Redfield's study of Tepoztlán. 114 121

(6) Finally, underlying the folk-urban dichotomy as used by Redfield, is a system of value judgments which contains the old Rousseauian notion of primitive peoples as noble savages, and the corollary that with civilization has come the fall of man.¹⁴ Again and again in Redfield's writings there emerges the value judgment that folk societies are good and urban societies bad. It is assumed that all folk societies are integrated while urban societies are the great disorganizing force. In his introduction to Miner's St. Denis study, Redfield suggests that the usual view of peasant life "as something to be escaped, an ignominy to be shunned" may be wrong. He finds that the *habitant* of St. Denis has order, security, faith, and confidence, "because he has culture." In another essay ("The Folk Society and Culture" in *Eleven Twenty-Six*), he contrasts the "organization and consistency which gives a group moral solidarity" with "the impaired moral organization of the urban society." Even in his most recent study, which to this writer represents a great departure from his earlier thinking, in that he is less concerned with formalism and categories and more concerned with people, we find the old values reappearing. "Progress" and urbanization now are seen as inevitable, but they are still evil.¹⁵ Having pointed out some of the limitations of the folk-urban formula let us now [192]

¹⁴ This type of value system is particularly prone to influence the interpretation of whether a given cultural change shall be called disorganization or simply reorganization. Since the concept of disorganization is one of the three key concepts in Redfield's folk-urban hypothesis, it can be seen how directly this value system may affect the interpretation. We are not, of course, objecting to the fact of values per se, but rather to the failure to make them explicit, as well as to this particular value system. Redfield's values suggest what Lovejoy and Boas have called "cultural primitivism," which they define as "the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it." Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), p. 7.

They show that primitivism has existed in various forms throughout the recorded history of mankind. "Of direct, or even indirect, influence of the classical primitivistic tradition there is probably little. But since the beginning of the present century, Western man has become increasingly sceptical concerning the nineteenth-century 'myth of progress,' increasingly troubled with the misgivings about the value of the outcome of civilization thus far, about the future to which it tends, and about himself as the author of it all; and similar doubts and apprehensions found expression two millennia or more ago. In spite of the more complex and sophisticated general ideology of the contemporary exponents of these moods, there are striking parallels to be observed between certain of the texts that follow [i.e., Greek, Roman, and Indian] and some passages in, e.g., such writings as Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* and Spengler's *Man and Technics*." *Ibid.*, p. xi.

¹⁵ Redfield writes, "The people of Chan Kom are, then, a people who have no choice but to go forward with technology, with a declining religious faith and moral conviction, into a dangerous world. They are a people who must and will come to identify their interests with those of people far away, outside the traditional circle of their loyalties and political responsibilities. As such they should have the sympathy of the readers of these pages." Redfield, *A Village That Chose Progress*, p. 178.

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114 see to what extent the trend of change found in our study of Tepoztlán falls within
 121 the categories suggested by Redfield in his study *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.¹⁸
 181 He postulates that with increased urban influences there is greater disorganization,
 182 secularization, and individualization. Taking each separately, we shall consider the
 family first, as an example of disorganization. Redfield summarized the broad
 trends of change in family organization as follows:

As one goes from Tusik toward Merida there is to be noted a reduction in the stability of the elementary family; a decline in the manifestation of patriarchal or matriarchal authority; a disappearance of institutions expressing cohesion in the great family; a reduction in the strength and importance of respect relationships, especially for elder brothers and for elder people generally; an increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior toward relatives; and a shrinkage in the applicability of kinship terms primarily denoting members of the elementary family toward more distant relatives or toward persons not relatives.¹⁹

114 The first generalization that can be made in the case of Tepoztlán is that, despite
 121 the increased city influences in the last seventeen years, the stability of the nuclear
 181 family has not been seriously modified. The family remains strong and cohesive,
 182 separations have not noticeably increased, and divorce is all but non-existent. The
 593 extended family is relatively weak but continues to serve in cases of emergency.
 This weakness, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Quarrels between husband
 and wife and wife-beating occur with some frequency, but this too seems to be
 an old pattern. The tensions and quarrels within families reflect a type of family
 organization, as well as Tepoztecán personality, but are not necessarily symptoms
 of disorganization.

Parental authority remains strong in Tepoztlán, despite the elimination of arranged marriages and the increase in elopements. Parents continue to have control over their children, in many cases even after marriage. As we have seen, about sixteen per cent of all house sites are composed of joint families, and about half of these are extended families in which married sons are treated as children subject to the authority of the parents (*hijos de familia*).

[583] Although about fifty per cent of the marriages now begin as elopements, which flout the authority of the parents, the old form of asking for the girl's hand by the

¹⁸ In effect, we are comparing the results of a diachronic study of culture change with that of a synchronic study. Redfield's methodology in *Folk Culture of Yucatan* involved the reconstruction of a historical process from the differential position of four communities on the hypothetical folk-urban continuum. That is, each of the four communities represented a distinct stage in the evolution from folk to urban. It assumed that the communities were similar at some unspecified time in the past, and explained the differences in the degree of secularization, individualization, and disorganization, as a result of urban influences. Redfield had posed a historical problem which he attempted to solve in a non-historical way. In referring to the four monographs on which his book was based, he wrote, "The outlines of historical trends of change . . . might be expected to appear more clearly if carefully prepared histories of local cultures were written. . . . But in none of the four communities studied in the present connection was any systematic effort made to recover the older conditions of the local society by asking informants." Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, pp. 341-42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tunk and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.¹⁸

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that in formants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.¹⁹

¹⁸ Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

¹⁹ Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U.S.A.), Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conspicious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 211-12.

²⁰ Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, "... it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. The

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114 The second conclusion in the study in Yucatán showed a clear trend toward
121 secularization.

181 The conclusion has been reached that the city and town exhibit greater secularization
771 than do the villages. The principal facts offered in support of this conclusion are . . . the separation of maize from the context of religion and its treatment simply as a means of getting food or money; the increase in the number of specialists who carry on their activities for a practical livelihood relative to those that carry on traditional activities which are regarded as prerogatives and even moral duties to the community; the change in the character of the institution of *guardia* whereby from being an obligation, religiously supported, to protect a shrine and a god it becomes a mere job in the town hall; the (almost complete) disappearance of family worship; the decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage; the conversion of the pagan cult from what is truly religious worship to mere magic or even superstition; the decline in the veneration accorded the santos; the change in the novena in which from being a traditional form expressive of appeal to deity it becomes a party for the fun of the participants; the alteration in the festival of the patron saint in which it loses its predominant character as worship and becomes play and an opportunity for profit; the separation of ideas as to the cause and cure of sickness from conceptions as to moral or religious obligation.²²

114 The data from Tepoztlán does not enable a careful comparison on each of the
121 cited points. However, much of the data is comparable and shows the trend
181 toward secularization noted. The attitude toward corn in Tepoztlán combines both the secular and religious. Certainly corn is viewed as the basic crop, both for subsistence and for trade. But the religious aspects have not been entirely lopped off.
243 The corn is still blessed in the church on San Isidro's day, and some families still
771 burn incense in the home and address a prayer to the corn before planting. Some also make the sign of the cross when planting the first seed. Moreover, on the day of San Miguel, crosses are still placed at the four corners of the milpa to ward off the winds. From informants' accounts, it appears that these customs were more widespread before the Revolution. It is difficult to say how much change has occurred since 1926, for Redfield did not report on this subject.

114 The study of occupational changes and division of labor in Tepoztlán showed
121 that most of the old "folk specialists" have continued and even increased in number, side by side with the increase in the new specialists. There were more *curanderos*, *chirimiteros*, fireworks makers and mask makers in 1944 than in 1926, and
181 there seemed to be every indication that these occupations would continue. The
463 only exceptions are the *huchuechiques*, who must be able to speak Náhuatl, and the *chirimiteros*, who are being displaced by the modern band. However, the rate of increase in what Redfield would call the secular specialists has been much greater than that of the "folk specialists." To this extent the independent findings for

114 force the analysis into an organization-disorganization framework and neglect the possibility that
121 there may exist different levels of organization in cultures. . . . Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIV, No. 5 (March, 1948), pp.
181 348-450.

182 ²² *Ibid.*, p. 352.

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Yucatán and Tepoztlán agree. But it should be noted that before the Revolution there were more shoemakers, carpenters, saddle makers, and other artisans than in 1926 or in 1944. Were it not that we had specific historical information to explain this phenomenon, we might conclude that with increasing urban contacts there is a decrease in the number of specialists. The reason for this decrease has been, rather, the destruction of many neighboring haciendas which were formerly supplied by labor from Tepoztlán, and the abolition of the *cacique* class which offered a market for the products of the artisans.

In Tepoztlán there does not appear to have been any appreciable decline in the sacramental character of baptism and marriage. At any rate, both are considered important and are standard practices. Despite the legalization of secular marriage, church marriage is still considered the best marriage by most Tepoztecs.

Similarly there is no evidence of any decline in the veneration of the *santos*; the novena continues to be an appeal to the deity rather than a party for fun; the patron saints of the barrios are still regarded as protectors and are worshipped as such. Nor have barrio fiestas become primarily an occasion for profit. In fact, Tepoztecs do not show the marked commercial spirit reported in Mitla by Parsons, and in communities of the Guatemalan highlands by Sol Tax. Unlike Parsons' experiences in Mitla, we were never besieged by questions about the cost of things, nor did we ever witness Tepoztecs haggling among themselves or with strangers.

The third conclusion of the Yucatán study pertains to the trend toward individualization, or individualism as one goes from folk to urban. The specific facts found in the study of the four communities are given as follows:

... The relative decrease in importance of specialized functions which are performed in behalf of the community and the relative increase of specialties discharged for the individual's own benefit; the development of individual rights in land and in family estates; the diminution or disappearance of collective labor and of the exchange of services in connection with civic enterprises and religious worship; the decreasing concern of the family or of the local community in the making and the maintaining of marriages; the becoming less common of the extended domestic family; the lessening of emphasis and of conventional definition of the respect relationships among kin; the decline in family worship and the disappearance of religious symbols expressive of the great family; decrease in the tendency to extend kinship terms with primary significance for members of the elementary family to more remote relatives or to persons unrelated genealogically; the increasing vagueness of the conventional outlines of appropriate behavior towards relatives; the change in the nature of the marriage and baptismal rites so as less to express the linkage of the families and more to concern the immediate involved individuals only; the decline in relative importance of the *santo* patron of the local community; the suggested relation of the increase in sorcery to the separation of individuals, especially of women from the security of familial groups.²¹

Some of the items listed above were also listed under the categories of disorganization and secularization and have been treated earlier. The development of

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

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114 individual rights in land may date back prior to the Spanish Conquest. Cortés
 121 and his heirs owned land in Tepoztlán and rented it out to Tepoztecanas as early
 181 as 1580. In the past twenty or thirty years there have been no changes in the direction of the private ownership of the communal resources. The persistence of the communal resources, which still accounts for over eighty per cent of all the area of the municipio, is impressive.

[476] The trend toward the breakdown of collective labor is seen clearly in Tepoztlán,
 [621] particularly in connection with the difficulty in getting barrio members to turn out for the plowing and planting of the barrio fields. In 1947, three of the barrios had rented out the land and used the rental for the barrio. On the whole, many of our findings for Tepoztlán might be interpreted as confirming Redfield's more general findings for Yucatán, particularly in regard to the trend toward secularization and individualization, perhaps less so in regard to disorganization.

CULTURE CHANGE IN TEPOZTLÁN

177 Let us now depart from Redfield's formulation and analyze the changes in Tepoztlán in terms of concrete historical occurrences and their patterns. For this purpose, the history of culture change in Tepoztlán may be divided into three major periods, each with its distinctive characteristics. These periods are (1) from the Spanish Conquest to about 1910; (2) from 1910 to about 1930; (3) from 1930 to the present. The great differences in the lengths of each of these periods correspond, to some extent, to the different rates of change characteristic of each. Furthermore, each period is characterized by changes of a different order.

During the first period, change was on the whole gradual but far-reaching, touching all aspects of life from material culture and technology to social organization, economics, and religion. The changes during this period were the result of outside influence and consisted of the transformation of the culture by the super-imposition of Spanish culture, consisting of both urban and rural elements, on the native culture, with a resultant fusion of the two. During the second period, the changes were caused by a combination of external and internal factors, and changes were more rapid and violent, affecting primarily the social and political organization. The third period was in a sense a continuation of the second, with the changes primarily in the fields of communication, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with economics, social organization, and religion remaining quite stable. On the whole, but particularly in the field of material culture, the new culture elements in all periods did not supplant but were added to the old, making for a richer and more heterogeneous culture.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1910

This period can be divided into two sub-periods: one, from the Conquest to 1810, the colonial period; and two, from 1810 to 1910, the end of the Díaz regime.

The effects of the Spanish Conquest and of Spanish influence during the colonial period were extremely complicated and included both destructive and constructive

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FROM 1910 TO 1920

Tepoztlán suffered extremely during the years of the Revolution, and village life was completely disrupted. The village was repeatedly occupied by the opposing forces, homes were burned, crops and animals destroyed, and the people completely impoverished and forced to flee. A large number of Tepoztecos had their first contacts with city life at this time. Village population declined markedly, many having lost their lives in battle or as a result of hunger and illness. With the Revolution, the political power of the *caciques* in Tepoztlán was broken, and the old class distinctions were abolished.²³ The church barely functioned during this period and religious life was at a standstill. 177
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FROM 1920 TO 1930

In the ten years after the Revolution, the village struggled back to normalcy. Population increased rapidly as people returned and as living conditions improved. In 1930, constitutional government was established in the state of Morelos, providing for independent municipalities and "free" elections. New political factions arose, reflecting the post-revolutionary tension and unrest, which culminated in a minor civil war in Tepoztlán. The many restrictions placed on the church by the new federal government caused the church to shut its doors, so that religious life was again at a minimum. In 1920, the Colonia Tepozteco was established in Mexico City, exposing Tepoztlán to a permanent and active urbanizing influence. 642
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FROM 1930 TO 1945

The changes which occurred in the past twenty years have been far reaching and may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population, an improvement in health services accompanied by some decline in the importance of *curanderos*, a marked rise in the standard of living and the aspiration level of the people, the growth of a class of small landowners, the development of a greater variety and specialization in occupations, a decrease in the use of Náhuatl, and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish, a rise in literacy and the beginnings of regular newspaper reading, and a greater incorporation of the village into the main stream of national life. 177

The primary influences for change have been the new road, the granting of *ejidos*, and the expansion of school facilities. Corn mills were also important. Be-

²³ Here again, the concrete historical data do not follow the logic of the folk-urban continuum. One of the criteria used in Redfield's definition of the folk society is that it is a classless society. As we go toward the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum we might expect greater class differentiation. But Tepoztlán today shows much less class stratification than in 1910, so that we might conclude that Tepoztlán was more of the folk society type today than in 1910. Similarly, the classless society of the future, as envisioned by the socialists, would, according to the folk-urban continuum, have to be considered a folk society. Becker has avoided this difficulty in his sacred-secular dichotomy by setting up subtypes under each category. He distinguishes two types of sacred societies, the folk and the prescribed, each in turn with their subtypes. The socialist society would probably be classified under the sacred-prescribed type. 114
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ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN TEPOZTLAN *

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For purposes of anthropological inquiry, it is suggested that a Catholic society be studied in terms of formal, nominal, cultural, and folk Catholicism. By formal Catholicism is meant the intrinsic position of the Roman Catholic Church, a concrete and specific organization with hierarchical roots in Rome. A formal Catholic might be defined as one who seriously practices the teachings of the Church, following Her rites and proscriptions, fully cognizant of what is expected, holding the beliefs maintained by the Church emanating from the high tradition downward. Nominal Catholicism, quite common in many parts of the world and within many societies, is an identifiable acceptance of membership in the Church, involving some allegiance to Her, but with little effort to follow faithfully those rites and proscriptions expected of the practicing Catholic. Cultural Catholicism, sometimes also referred to as social Catholicism, infers the social organization of the Church as a way of life in terms of Her impinging on other wishes and forms, such as a preference for a particular type of music or a specific form of ecclesiastical art, or for a way of life within the Catholic framework as it defines itself in ethnic and regional expression. Finally, folk Catholicism, sometimes spoken of as popular Catholicism, is Catholic practice which emanates from the people, and finds its expression in indigenous practices and customs, only distantly related to the Church's formal aspects, but not as a rule, in conflict with them. All four of these types—formal, nominal,

* Note: The research for this article was sponsored and financed by the Human Relations Center, Saint Louis University; field work was facilitated by Mexico City College where the writer is Research Professor of Anthropology.

121 cultural or social, and folk Catholicism—represent a part of the
795 whole which is known as the Catholic Church. Wherever Catholicism is found, these forms may be found, sometimes interwoven, sometimes sufficiently distinct to be discerned as gradations on a continuum, running from the two polarities of formal to folk Catholicism.

114 The village of Tepoztlán in Morelos, Mexico, an Aztec community with a Catholic tradition beginning in the early days of the
795 Conquest, was first described by Robert Redfield in his classical account of a Mexican Village¹. Recently, Oscar Lewis has made a restudy, providing a more analytical source of data as gathered by him and his staff². Redfield used his well-known holistic approach, while Lewis' work is more in the nature of a factor analysis. It was not feasible or desirable that either author eliminate a discussion of religion when reporting a predominantly Catholic society. Redfield pinpointed the religious activity of the Tepoztecs from the standpoint of ethnology, as is seen particularly in his chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days"³ describing the holy days and holidays which make up the religious life as well as the social organization of the people. Although he himself did not share the religious convictions of the people he studied, Redfield presents a very accurate and interesting account. In his restudy, Lewis speaks of the religious behaviour of the people, and in some ways reveals his own lack of familiarity with Catholic thought and practice. The restudy was valuable, however, because of the objectivity with which Lewis delineates some aspects of village life not emphasized by Redfield.

114 It is a common procedure in the physical sciences for one investigator to build upon the work of another, retesting, checking findings, and proceeding only after having verified the results of previous experimentation. This approach is fairly new in

¹ Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

² Oscar Lewis, *Life in A Mexican Village, Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.

³ Redfield, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, pp. 97-132. See also Chapter XI, "The Santo and the Veterano", pp. 193-204.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN TEPOZTLAN

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the social sciences, particularly in ethnology. Readers are perhaps familiar with Lewis' point of view⁴, and Redfield's rejoinders⁵. It appears that what Redfield clarified was the rhythm of life and the flow of custom in this village, the strengths and assets of the people. Lewis, on the other hand, isolated those aspects of village life which expressed themselves in conflict form. Thus familial, social and sexual conflicts were brought into the foreground. That there are conflicts in all societies is admitted; that analysis of conflict therefore captures the inner essence of a small community may be questioned. Such a question does not, of course, eliminate the data presented by Lewis; it merely calls attention to his focus. In either case, objectively speaking, the investigator found what he sought, and reported what he observed. The result is that we have available two viewpoints about the life of this village. Our purpose was not to analyze the differences between Redfield and Lewis, but rather to build upon the foundation provided by their works and to seek further light on the religious life of the village. 114

The chief value of additional study along religious lines by an anthropologist who is also a practicing Catholic would lie in the opportunity thus provided for gaining deeper insight into the religious life of the people, by an attempt to discover how the Church looks upon Her own problems in this village. This calls for considerable objectivity as well as an awareness of the intent of the formal Church. 121

Redfield has remarked to the writer that the Catholic observer holds at least an advantage of seeing how the Church looks upon Herself and Her own problems⁶. This introduces a new methodological note, as the Catholic scientist observes the Church's position in the formal or high tradition as it inter- 795

⁴ Lewis, *op. cit.*

⁵ Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. pp. 154-157. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 132-137.

⁶ Personal communication. The writer is greatly indebted to Professor Redfield for his advisement concerning the point of departure and the field work relative to this paper.

121 acts with the folk or low tradition, and is influenced by it from
 795 the "grass-roots" level⁷. If we regard these extremes—the high
 tradition and the low tradition—as two ends of the continuum
 from formal to folk Catholicism, we may be able to determine
 something about their effect upon each other. A more careful
 analysis of Catholic cultures may be possible, however, by includ-
 ing the intermediate positions of nominal and cultural Catholicism,
 not emphasizing the degree to which the religious beliefs are
 practiced in terms of the Church's own goals, but rather, the
 [114] forms which Catholicism manifests. In this sense, Tepoztlán
 is again restudied, both to secure additional information, and
 to permit a different sort of participant observation by an
 anthropologist practicing the faith of the villagers he studies.

One basic reason for selecting for this study the village of
 Tepoztlán was that here was manifested in bold relief the
 frontier where formal and folk Catholicism meet. The natural
 793 center of any formal Catholic activity rests locally with the
 parish priest who is pastor of the Church in a specific geographic
 area. In Tepoztlán, Dom Pedro Rojas has held this post for the
 past thirty-six years, under appointment by the Archbishop of
 Cuernavaca. His role, however, becomes somewhat complex
 793 because his parish is made up of seven semi-independent units
 794 known as barrios, each of which centers around a smaller church
 (iglesita) or chapel of which he is also the pastor, and which
 in all formal matters is accountable to him. Nonetheless each
 of these chapels does function with some degree of independ-
 ence, pointing up the significance of folk Catholicism, as
 will be illustrated later in this brief account.

114 In addition to having had the advantage of studying the
 works already accomplished about this village, the present dis-
 cussion is based upon personal observations made during two
 summer field seasons. The writer and his wife spent four con-
 secutive week-ends in Tepoztlán during August 1955, and lived
 123 in the village continuously during August and the early days
 794 of September, 1956. We participated in the daily social and

⁷ Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University
 of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 67-104.

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religious life of the people, both in the parish Church of Santa Maria del Asunción, which is situated on the central plaza, and in the various fiestas and other activities of the neighborhoods or barrios. The investigator and his wife were accepted in the parish Church as well as in all of the barrio chapels, as practicing Catholics, rather than as interested onlookers. This was the major point of departure, which aided us in dealing with informants, and in interpreting religious practices, because of having familiarity with the intentions and meaning of Catholic rituals and ceremonies. To the degree to which a religious belief or experience may be considered a fact, we shared with the village people a common reality, vital to us and to them.

All of the seven barrios and their chapels were visited by the investigator. A plan was worked out by which some selectivity operated in making our observations. The barrio and chapel of Santa Cruz were visited during the annual fiesta, which occurred early in our stay, and gave us an introduction to the way in which deep religious feeling and social festivity are fused in their expression in the fiestas in this village. The barrio and chapel of San Sebastian were visited a number of times in connection with a fiesta which will be reported later in this paper. The barrio and chapel of San Miguel were chosen for daily visits, at varying times of the day, in order to find out what might be expected in a particular barrio chapel. The parish Church was visited on the same basis, for purposes of comparison and contrast. This brought about opportunities for frequent observations in the barrio and chapel of La Santísima, which is contiguous to the plaza. The barrio and chapel of Santo Domingo, lying below the plaza on the slope toward the valley, and the barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes near the crest of the hillside high above the plaza, all three are more distant from the center of activity and were less frequently visited.

Interviews with informants were non-directed and limited in scope. Aid was proffered from several sources, and in general the field work notes were gathered with an eye toward the priest's position and activities, and the activities of certain

12/ lay persons who expressed their religious devotion by leadership or participation in barrio chapel and parish affairs.

12/ The first problem facing the investigator is a definition of
795 the Church, both in terms of Her reality as an institution, and in terms of Her view of Herself. From the standpoint of social organization, the Church is a growing organism, subject to culture change and culture retention. From the standpoint of the Church, it is necessary as a part of that same reality, to view the Church as She views Herself.

In a resume of a paper which he delivered before the American Catholic Sociological Society in 1955, Dr. Rudolph E. Morris makes the following point:

The customary typology of religion refers to prophetic and organized religion, or to a sect—and church—types of religion. The underlying idea is that religious movements generally start out as prophetic ideas of a single man through personal inspiration and that they are later on institutionalized and put into the 'strait-jackets' of dogma and ritual. . . . These types of typology are insufficient to explain Christianity in its growth and development. Christianity was instituted from the very outset as Church, by Christ Himself; he who believes in the Incarnation, in God made Man, understands religion as likewise 'incarnated', i.e., set up as an institution which guarantees continuity in the stream of time. . . . taking account of this primary institutionalization of religion, distinguishes from it a second level of institutionalization. This one refers to the external day-to-day organization and activities of the Church, especially in its lower units, the parishes. On this second level of institutionalization the organs of the Church not only try to adjust reasonably into their respective environments; they show, also, a tendency toward totally fitting into the environment. . . . The hope is expressed . . . that sociologists may be able in helping to solve the present confusion by developing a structural analysis of the Church in Her manifold units and by studying the conditions under which religious experience can, within the framework of the instituted Church, function as a fertilizer for the growth of the Mystical Body of Christ.

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It is readily seen from this that one can view formal Catholicism both in terms of religious phenomena as such, and also in terms of the goals and ends of the Church as She conceives of Herself. In principle the Church need not be dependent upon social organization, although of necessity She must operate within it. There is this difference between formal Catholicism as such, and those aspects of cultural and folk Catholicism which are reflected in what Redfield terms the "social organization of tradition."

In the village of Tepoztlán, we may identify formal Catholicism as being materially expressed by the parish Church and the pastor. Nominal Catholicism is represented here as elsewhere by that portion of the population which claims to be Catholic, but does not observe with any great faithfulness the wishes, the spirit, or the laws of the Church. Cultural Catholicism is demonstrated in the social implications of holy days, holidays and fiestas which originate in liturgical religious observances but become indistinguishable in the minds of some, from patriotic or ethnocentric celebrations. Folk Catholicism is manifested in demonstrations of fireworks as a part of Catholic worship, indigenous artistic expression used in decorations of chapels and images, special meanings given to saints which have developed in the santos cult, and in lay participation in barrio chapel affairs with the onus of responsibility upon the layman, without the presence of the village pastor.

The presence of neighborhood shrines, which are actually small churches dedicated to a patron saint who thus becomes the patron of the barrio, from the Catholic point of view, presents a unique problem in terms of religious activity in the village. The barrio and the chapel are known by the name of the patron saint, whose image is placed on the main altar, and whose fiesta is observed each year according to the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church. The chapel and certain lands adjoining it, are the property of the barrio. The seven barrios are geographically delineated, each having its own point of view regarding its importance, the importance of the patron saint, and its relationship to religious action. Barrio member-

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ropological friend of mine calls 'folk-Catholicism' and the attitude of theologians and other well-educated Catholics"¹¹. In the case of the fiesta, we have an extension of a religious pattern which overflows into the social organization of the village. 795
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It is seen, then, that the parish priest has considerable influence over the religious activities of the village¹², and at the same time, the barrio people do carry on a certain amount of indigenous religious life, expressed in various patterns, accountable to the formal Church, but not always a full part of it, although not in conflict with it. [793]
[794]

In conclusion it may be said that the barrio world of Tepoztlán represents the low tradition in Catholicism, and that it interacts with the formal Church representing the high tradition. If the observer is not too familiar with Catholic practices, it is possible that an interpretation of the findings in terms of social organization alone will miss important points. If the observer shares Catholicism with the observed, there may be greater accuracy in appraising Catholic practices. Mistakes may be made, but there is an acceptance of the investigator on the part of the people who will thus discuss those aspects of the investigation which are Catholic in essence with a different focus than when speaking to a non-Catholic investigator. The observer of religious patterns in Tepoztlán can see the interaction of folk and formal Catholicism as a pattern of culture, meaningful both to the parish priest and to the members of the barrios. If the Catholic participant observer can maintain genuine objectivity while admitting his set of values, then we have an additional source of interpretation of religious patterns. These patterns cannot be seen as merely formal, or as merely folk, but rather as operating on a continuum, with the expected interaction of the several parts. The total result will be one more tool for the analysis of religious behaviour, for as Everett Hughes has pointed out, the whole of sociology has manifested itself within the bounds 121 ●
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¹¹ *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (New Series Vol. 4), No. 4, (October, 1956), p. 123.

¹² In this connection, see Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, Chapter XIX, "Religion and the Rural Church", pp. 454-483.

121/795 of Roman Catholicism¹³. We might add that anthropological techniques can be further refined to enhance our study of village folk life along these lines.

Can the Catholic observer in largely Catholic areas retain objectivity? Certainly his scientific norms will be no different from those of other observers. His only advantage is in his role as a participant observer who is accepted as a Catholic. This advantage can be used constructively or otherwise, depending upon the circumstances surrounding his Catholicity. As for the villagers themselves, whether in the role of the parish priest and his major assistants, or in the role of the mayordomos and other barrio helpers, the investigator is looked upon as one who can and does share in some of the deeply emotional patterns of a religious nature. Any investigator can recognize that in rural Mexico, Catholicism was superimposed upon a previous system, but whether or not the factual details of the Catholic Faith are recognized implies considerable familiarity with Catholic thought. Of course it must be admitted that if Catholicism is a religious fact, as well as a fact of social organization to the observer, it might be anticipated that some recognition would be given to the essentials of the formal Church while not discounting the indigenous folkways of the people, as is so frequently observed in barrio religious life.

177/795 [121] It has been our final conclusion and one which we were not predisposed to accept, that the folk expression of Catholicism in this village appears to be in conformity with the formal intentions of the Roman Catholic Church. This is the reversal of our initial impression. Some Aztec residues which have been transposed into Catholic form were noted, along with evidences of early Spanish interpretation of Catholicism which are unique to that culture. Upon this foundation has been built, however, a genuine indigenous form of religious expression which is truly folk in that

¹³ Everett C. Hughes, "The Early and the Contemporary Study of Religion; An Editorial Foreword", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 6, (May, 1955), pp 1-iv.

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During the first week, in early February, the clinic had 11 patients and after about two months, this number increased to 35. Then abruptly, in April, patients stopped coming, and the clinic came to a complete standstill. What lay behind the failure of the clinic? Why should attendance cease so suddenly and completely in the face of an expressed need by both the government and the villagers? To find the answers, we must understand the social structure and the people of Tepoztlán: their resources, hopes, fears, and attitudes toward authority. Because the medical service program was only one part of our team's activities and because the parts became linked in devious ways, it is also essential to explain the psychological phase of our research and the response it engendered.

THE SITUATION

*A Requested Service Is Ensnared in Political Intrigue**Tepoztlán and Its People*

Tepoztlán is an ancient highland village of about 3,500 people 15 miles from Cuernavaca, the capital of the state of Morelos, and 60 miles south of Mexico City. Since 1936 it has been connected by a paved road to the highway running between Mexico City and Cuernavaca and has daily bus service. Tepoztlán is located just above the malaria area and is considered one of the most healthful spots in the state of Morelos, with one of its lowest death rates. However, this is a relative matter. The average rate of infant mortality for the period 1930 to 1940 was 102.3, and the general mortality rate for the same period was 20.2.

The village includes peasants, artisans, and shopkeepers, but over 90 per cent of the 853 families earn their living from agriculture. Most of the land is mountainous, forested, and depleted. Less than 15 per cent of the total land area is arable and only a single crop of corn is harvested each year. Some own their agricultural plots or have rights to certain parcels of the public land which remain with the farmers as long as they continue to work them. Other farmers must till the poor soil of the stony hillsides belonging to the community and free to anyone who wishes to cut

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better if we had operated according to current organizational practices. Had the doctors been brought in to set up a private clinic rather than a cooperative, there might have been less difficulty. Previous attempts to set up cooperatives in other activities had met with similar or more drastic difficulties. In 1930 Tepoztlán organized a Forestry Cooperative for the production and sale of charcoal. It lasted only a few years, for the village divided into hostile political factions. The officers of the cooperative were suspected of stealing funds, the president was murdered, and the cooperative dissolved. A more recent cooperative to run the bus line between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca also is rent by dissension and violence.

The results in Tepoztlán lead to the conclusion that the introduction of modern medicine should not be attempted through the mechanism of cooperatives in regions where a long-standing cooperative tradition is lacking. The more general lesson is that programs, to be practical, are not to be devised according to an ideal organizational model, however much this model may appeal to program planners, but must take account of the organizational pattern familiar to the people of the particular community.

Entrenched Power

Those who enter a community to engage in an action program must recognize the implications of the fact that they are not entering a power vacuum. In every human community there exists a network of relations between individuals. It is to the interest of many of these individuals to maintain this system of relationships. Any group of outsiders moving into a community will be seen by some as potentially disruptive, even if they plan no action. If they do plan action, whatever positive measures they undertake, no matter how benign, will be perceived by some community members as a threat to their own status and interests.

It is tempting to attribute the antagonism of these people and their obstructive activities to the fact that they are wicked people, opposing common good because of selfish motives. Even if this were so, the frequency of such obstruction makes it reasonable to anticipate its occurrence and to be able to cope with it realistically.

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122 PRACTICAL PREPARATIONS--source of financial support; selection and assembly of equipment; arranging problems of transportation and bureaucratic red tape; familiarization with previous descriptive literature; learning language, etc.

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PREFACE

The materials embodied in this volume were collected by the writer from November, 1926, to July, 1927. They are no more than a small sample of materials which might be obtained. They are far from constituting an ethnographic monograph on the people of Tepoztlán. Eight months is too short a time within which to secure the data for such a monograph. One would have to spend a considerably longer period, and one would need a command of both languages spoken in the community, not merely a fair knowledge of one of them. Eight months is not even time enough to correct all one's initial blunders. That this report still contains some positive mistakes the writer knows is likely. The materials are now published only because it seems improbable that he will soon be able to return to Tepoztlán to continue the study here only introduced. In order to indicate some of the limitations of the materials, statements derived, not from the direct observation of the flow of custom in the village, but from accounts, insufficiently corroborated, of informants, are so indicated in footnotes. 114 128

The study was initiated under the encouragement and direction of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole, and was made possible by a fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. The writer has had much opportunity to learn from Dr. Robert E. Park, and has like- 122 000

preface

This study was begun as a joint project of the Inter-American Indian Institute of Mexico and the National Indian Institute of the United States. The project was originally conceived as a pilot study for a contemplated series of studies in various parts of Latin America, to provide government agencies working in rural areas with a better understanding of the psychology and needs of the people. John Collier, as head of the National Indian Institute, and Manuel Gamio, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute, were instrumental in organizing the project and seeing it through its first year. Financial assistance was provided by the Viking Fund. [122]

As field representative of the National Indian Institute, I was director of the project and had the assistance from time to time of personnel provided by various Mexican government agencies. Field work began in Tepoztlán in December, 1943, and was carried on through June, 1944, when it was abruptly terminated because of lack of funds. In the summer of 1947 I returned to the village to continue field work for a period of three months, with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and Washington University. In the summer of 1948 I again returned to the village with the aid of research grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Illinois. 114 122

With Dr. Gamio's aid, and through the courtesy of Dr. Alfonso Caso and Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, of the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología, four anthropology students were assigned to this project for field work training. The students were Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Isabel Pozas, Anselmo Marino Flores, and Francisco Lima. The Departamento de Educación also generously assigned Esperanza Domínguez Reina as a student assistant. In addition we had the assistance of two social workers and two doctors from the Departamento de Salubridad y Asistencia, and two agronomists from the Departamento Agrario. 114

The Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas took an active interest in the project, and contributed personnel and aid in other ways, during all three field trips. In 1943 and 1944, when Asuntos Indígenas was under the direction of Isidro Candia, we enjoyed the field assistance of Dr. Emanuel Palacios, anthropologist. Later, through the courtesy of Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán and Julio de la Fuente, in their capacity as directors of Asuntos Indígenas, we received the services of Alberto Beltrán, artist. To Alberto Beltrán I am especially grateful for his fine drawings which illustrate this book, and for his enthusiastic cooperation and keen interest in anthropology. To him and to all those mentioned above I extend my thanks.

To Dr. Alejandro D. Marroquín, of El Salvador, I am deeply grateful for capable assistance during all three of my field trips. He has generously shared with me his broad knowledge of Latin America and has contributed much to this study. In addition to his over-all assistance he did a special study of village politics and government in 1944, and in 1947 he worked with me on an intensive family case study. At present, as my colleague at the University of Illinois, he has continued to assist me in the organization of portions of the field data.

I am indebted to Luis Chávez Orozco, outstanding Mexican historian, for 127

127 locating and making available to me much unpublished archive materials pertaining to Tepoztlán. He also permitted me to use his excellent private library and files on uncataloged documents in the Archivo General y Pública de la Nación. Had it not been for his cooperation and generosity, the historical sections of this study would have suffered.

000 In the course of my work in México, my family and I were shown kindnesses by many people. I wish particularly to thank Julio de la Fuente, Emanuel Palacios, Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Amelia Fox, Alfonso Villa Rojas, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, and Antonio Pompa y Pompa. It was also my special privilege to work with Manuel Gamio, Mexico's elder statesman among social scientists.

115 Our friends in Tepoztlán are too numerous for mention here, and I must thank them as a group. Needless to say, this study was made possible only by their kind cooperation. Well over one hundred Tepoztecan contributed directly as informants, and a few were among my best assistants.

To Dr. Robert Redfield I am indebted for his continued interest in this study. Correspondence and discussions with him have always been stimulating and helpful. He graciously aided me in securing funds for my last two field trips. Moreover, his encouragement in this critical restudy of his own work, in the interest of science, has been a source of moral support.

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114 Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi have been most kind to take time out from their busy schedules to analyze the Rorschach protocols and to produce Chapter 13—"The People Seen from Their Rorschach Tests." Dr. Edgar Anderson, of Washington University and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, has graciously helped with an intensive study of Tepoztecan corn. His report, "An Intensive Survey of Maize in Tepoztlán," appears as Appendix A. To my colleagues at the University of Illinois, Dr. John Albig, Dr. Erich Ahrens, Dr. J. E. Hulett, Dr. Margaret Reid, Dr. Frederick Will, and Dr. O. H. Mower, I am grateful for their reading of portions of the manuscript and their helpful suggestions. To Dr. George P. Murdock, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Dr. Paul Radin, Dr. Howard Becker, and Dr. Jules Henry, I am also grateful for their comments on portions of the manuscript. I would like to thank Dr. Vera L. Maslow for her careful and critical reading of the entire manuscript.

To my wife, Ruth Maslow Lewis, I am deeply indebted for her collaboration in all aspects of the field work and for her aid in the preparation of the manuscript.

122 Field work was begun with several preliminary visits to Tepoztlán and the sur-
 123 rounding villages of the municipio.¹⁵ On one of these visits I brought letters of
 [115] recommendation from the governor of the state of Morelos to the local municipal
 authorities, who were very helpful and who became our first informants. With
 their aid we rented a house in the village where I lived with my family. It was my
 purpose during the first month to establish rapport, locate informants, select repre-
 sentative families to be studied, and generally prepare the way for the coming of
 the student assistants from the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología who
 were to help with the field work.

123 Establishing ourselves in the village presented few difficulties. Because of the
 frequent coming and going of tourists, the presence of a few outsiders created no
 particular stir. However, during the first few months we heard rumors that we
 were spies from the U. S. A. with imperialistic designs,¹⁶ that we were Protestant
 missionaries come to change the religion,¹⁷ that we were agents of the Mexican
 government studying the economy for the purpose of raising taxes, and that we
 were trying to locate all youths eligible for conscription, a burning issue in the
 village at that time. Fortunately for the project, the rumors never became wide-
 spread and did not present any serious obstacles. With the exception of a single
 incident which occurred after the investigation had been going smoothly for four
 months, there were many manifestations of good will and cooperativeness on the
 part of Tepoztecos. Throughout the study, rapport with our selected families and
 other informants was excellent.

The circle of our acquaintances and informants in the village was extended con-
 siderably because our Mexican student assistants lived with families in each of the
 barrios and made many friends on their own initiative. Also, some of Redfield's
 informants were still alive, remembered him well, and were eager to work with
 us. On our return to the village in 1947 after an absence of three years, we were
 impressed by the enthusiasm with which we were greeted. The very fact that we
 had returned seemed to have automatically increased their confidence in us. In our
 last two summer field trips we were therefore able to obtain data of a much more
 personal and intimate nature than before.

other avenue of research. What is practically urgent to man, whether it be desirable or detestable,
 whether inspiring or galling, soon becomes a collective drive, that is, a relevant social force." Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Anthropology of Changing African Cultures," *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memo. XV (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1938).

¹⁵ I am indebted to Julio de la Fuente for accompanying me on these first visits; it was partly on the basis of his counsel that Tepoztlán was selected for study.

¹⁶ We learned later that this rumor was begun by a Sinarquist agent from Mexico City who visited the village regularly during our stay and had succeeded in organizing a small Sinarquist unit in the village.

¹⁷ Shortly after we moved into Tepoztlán we were visited by a delegation of Tepoztecos who wanted to know if we were connected with the YMCA project that was operating nearby in the municipio of Tepoztlán, and we were asked pointedly if we had come to change the religion. We explained that we were in no way connected with a religious organization, and that our purpose was to study the customs of the people and to learn of their needs. Apparently they were satisfied with our answer. The leader of this group later became one of our friends and informants.

ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN TEPOZTLAN *

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For purposes of anthropological inquiry, it is suggested that a Catholic society be studied in terms of formal, nominal, cultural, and folk Catholicism. By formal Catholicism is meant the intrinsic position of the Roman Catholic Church, a concrete and specific organization with hierarchical roots in Rome. A formal Catholic might be defined as one who seriously practices the teachings of the Church, following Her rites and proscriptions, fully cognizant of what is expected, holding the beliefs maintained by the Church emanating from the high tradition downward. Nominal Catholicism, quite common in many parts of the world and within many societies, is an identifiable acceptance of membership in the Church, involving some allegiance to Her, but with little effort to follow faithfully those rites and proscriptions expected of the practicing Catholic. Cultural Catholicism, sometimes also referred to as social Catholicism, infers the social organization of the Church as a way of life in terms of Her impinging on other wishes and forms, such as a preference for a particular type of music or a specific form of ecclesiastical art, or for a way of life within the Catholic framework as it defines itself in ethnic and regional expression. Finally, folk Catholicism, sometimes spoken of as popular Catholicism, is Catholic practice which emanates from the people, and finds its expression in indigenous practices and customs, only distantly related to the Church's formal aspects, but not as a rule, in conflict with them. All four of these types—formal, nominal,

* Note: The research for this article was sponsored and financed by the Human Relations Center, Saint Louis University; field work was facilitated by Mexico City College where the writer is Research Professor of Anthropology.